

THE ASSIMILATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS
INTO SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

by

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Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy of the University of Edinburgh
in the Faculty of Arts.

15th May 1963.



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INTRODUCTION.

This is a comparative study of the psychological and sociological factors involved in the processes of European immigrant assimilation in Southern Rhodesia.

To this general statement of purpose there are four corollaries.

1. Consideration will be given to psychological factors per se.
2. By the same token, consideration will be given to sociological factors per se.
3. In the almost total absence of any previous social research among the receiving society, relevant aspects of this society will require analysis.
4. Previous immigration studies in other countries have usually concentrated either on the psychological or the sociological aspects of the problem. It is proposed, therefore, to explore, with reference to our comparative findings, the possibilities for integrating these two approaches in a meaningful and useful manner.

The problems of assimilation in Southern Rhodesia differed from those areas in which previous studies had been made in several important respects. In the first place, the proportion of immigrants in the total white (host) population was higher

than among any other country of comparable or larger size. Second, the rate of increase in population growth was exceptionally high. Third, the rate of social change had been unusually rapid. And impinging on all these features, has been the inescapable, dominating presence of a large, threatening majority of indigenous Africans; at first, in the history of white settlement, either enemies or lost souls, later servants and sources of cheap labour, but becoming - during the period of the research - economic rivals and political antagonists.

Because of these differences, and because there had been no base of previous social research upon which to build, nor even any complete demographic records, the project has assumed certain special characteristics.

It has concentrated on the immediate past and the present. Historical material has been taken into account only when it has appeared especially relevant.

It has been devoted to a general examination of the problems involved in the process of assimilation rather than to the confirmation or refutation of any detailed, specific, prior hypotheses.

With these considerations in mind, the test has been divided into six parts.

Part I, considers the processes of assimilation and the various concepts with which it is customarily associated. From

this discussion emerges the rationale of the present research.

Part II is a condensed sociological analysis of white Rhodesian society.

Part III comprises an analysis of the results obtained from a detailed questionnaire administered to a random sample of the European adult population.

Part IV is devoted to a consideration of various psychological findings obtained from an intensive series of individual case-studies.

Part V considers certain psycho-sociological aspects of the assimilative process, gathered from research into two residential groups.

Part VI concludes the research by setting forth the general findings and endeavouring to integrate the analysis within a conceptual framework.

In addition to the text, a series of appendices incorporate details of sampling procedure used (relevant to part III), statistical techniques employed, demographic data, interview and other schedules employed, and a comprehensive bibliography. Finally, in support there is appended the offprint of a recently published* paper containing material that, although directly relevant to Rhodesian migration, bears only tangentially on the

arguments and findings of the present text.

Details of the assumptions, or working hypotheses, upon which the methods and arguments have been built, are given in appropriate parts of the text.

In order not to burden the reader with an excessive array of references and statistical data, these and other details have been appended. Diagrams and tables have been incorporated as near as possible to the findings they illustrate.

To avoid unnecessary repetition the following abbreviations have been used:-

H_0	The null hypothesis is sustained.
Sig(nificant):	The findings had reached the .05 level of significance. (The method is separately identified)
Very Sig(nificant):	The findings satisfied the .01 level of significance. (The method employed is separately identified).

Customary statistical abbreviations and symbols have been used throughout. Unless otherwise stated, references to culture and society refer to European culture and European society in Southern Rhodesia.

The author would like to express his appreciation for the most generous encouragement and assistance provided by the Director and Staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for

Social Research; to the Southern Rhodesian Government for their co-operation, especially to Dr. Myburgh of the Central African Statistical Office, and to all the countless individuals who found themselves at one time or another directly involved in the research, either as colleagues or as co-operators.

Particular thanks are due to Dr. Jean Purcer-Smith, Mrs. Joyce Randall and Mr. R.B. Sutcliffe, each of whom worked long and tirelessly in the field, to Mrs. Madeleine Allen, who cheerfully endured so much before producing the final typescript, to my father, whose timely aid in the final stages of preparation has been so much appreciated, and to my wife, whose active help and sustenance through difficult times have been beyond value.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Methods and Concepts.

This research is based on a pragmatic and comparative approach to assimilation, as a process of economic, social and cultural adjustment involving both psychological and sociological variables. Because of this, and because the term 'assimilation' has been used to denote a number of different things, it is necessary to consider the concept, and other considerations with which it is associated, in more detail.

We begin this chapter by considering some of the psychological concepts. We shall then turn our attention to the relevant sociological terms before setting forth the theoretical problems raised by our endeavour to integrate the two. These having been stated, the chapter concludes with a description of the methods that have been employed.

The term assimilation has been given a number of meanings ranging from Fairchild's physiological analogy denoting assimilation as 'the reformation of biogen molecules by those already existing, aided by foodstuffs'⁶ to Dieulefait's suggestion that it should be treated as a function of many variables, each of which could be measured without any specific initial definition.

In his article on the subject in the Encyclopaedia of the

⁶ H.P. Fairchild, Immigration, New York 1925, p.396.

Social Sciences, Park defines social assimilation as 'the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence. The common-sense view of the matter is that an immigrant is assimilated as soon as he has shown that he can 'get on in the country'. This implies, amongst other things, that in all ordinary affairs of life he is able to find a place in the community on the basis of his individual merits without invidious or qualifying reference to his social origin or to his cultural inheritance. Assimilation may in some senses and to a certain degree be described as a function of visibility. As soon as the immigrant no longer exhibits the marks which identify him as a member of an alien group, he acquires by that fact the actual if not the legal status of a native.^x

The notion of 'getting on', parallel to Mauco's definition as 'taking a free part in communal life on a footing of equality', and the idea of visibility, imply a degree of personal adjustment to a fresh environment that is significantly different, socially and culturally, from the old. It is therefore related to changes of attitude and behaviour.

The introduction of attitudes confirms the notion of assimilation as a process. Also as Borrie has pointed out, it

^x Pp. 281-2 Vol.II.
[#] W.D.Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO, 1959.P.92.

emphasises variability, for attitudes change more readily than either associations or institutions.

The most comprehensive account of assimilation from the psychological point of view has been made by Taft. Writing in 1953, he defined assimilation as 'the process by means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge towards common frames of reference, as a result of social interaction'.^{*} In later works Taft has shifted the emphasis slightly from 'frames of reference' to 'membership'. Thus, in 1957, gives as a working definition 'the process whereby, as a result of interaction, a person transfers his membership from one group to a second group whose norms are inconsistent with those of the first'.^Ø

First used by Eisenstadt in his classic study of how, in Israel, successive waves of the Aliyah had taken over the values of the Yishuw, the frame of reference approach presented a springboard from which new lines of research were launched. By studying the extent to which the social norms are accepted by the immigrant minority and the extent to which these norms and values are themselves modified, this approach emphasises the reciprocity of social interaction.

This frame of reference approach, as it is now generally known, helped to clarify other psychological features of the

* R.Taft, The Shared Frame of Reference Concept applied to Assimilation of Immigrants, Hum.Rel. VI No.1, 45/55
 Ø R.Taft, A Psychological Model for the Study of Social Assimilation, Hum.Rel. Vol. X No.2, pp. 141-156.

process. In the first place it is clearly important to know more about the motivation of migration. Why does X migrate while brother Y elects to stay at home? How important is the strength and the content of motivation to successful assimilation?

Second, it is important to know the aspirations of the immigrant. How may these determine his reactions to the new country and therefore to the quality of his assimilation?

Third, since this approach emphasises the transformation of attitudes, values and behaviour, it is important to know the pre-migrational situation with regard to these factors. This implies a study of immigrants not only after they have reached the new country but also before they leave the old. It also suggests the obvious value of a longitudinal investigation of immigrants before and after migration.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the psychological concomitants of assimilation, a word must be said in criticism of the assimilation itself as a key concept. Too often it seems to contain a hidden value judgment on account of the implied virtue of conformity. Provided, however, that we recognise that conformity may be neither necessary nor desirable for migration to be successful for the individuals or in the necessary interests of the host society, ^{*}this objection can be waived.

There are, however, two further objections. The first is that the frame of reference type of approach requires a prior

* Particularly true in Southern Rhodesia.

decision on the part of the investigator concerning which attitudes and values may be the most socially significant. No study, of course, can examine more than a fraction of the total number of these variables held in a given community. However, provided we remain aware of this deficiency and the margin of error it may introduce, this seems a risk that it is reasonable to take. There is, however, a related theoretical problem. Are we to say that a person, who may completely conform to the selected norms but who is mentally unbalanced, is assimilated? Supposing the tensions created or accentuated by their acceptance was a primary factor in the disturbance? Stated another way, assimilation carries the implication of being the ultimate psychological criterion for successful migration, indicating full adjustment, overlooking the fact that, albeit in exceptional circumstances, what may seem functional from society's point of view may be dysfunctional for the individual.

This last difficulty, together with the fact that in Southern Rhodesia the high proportion of migrants leads to unusually swift changes of attitude and behaviour, have persuaded us, in the present study, to consider assimilation as one half, the psychological half, of a social whole, the other half of which is represented by the sociological concept of absorption. Thus complete migrational 'success' indicates assimilation and absorption. This covers the hypothetical case mentioned above since anyone who has been seriously disturbed is unlikely to be

completely absorbed by, or integrated in, his community.

We must now examine the components of assimilation, as defined by Taft.

In a recent investigation of considerable theoretical interest,^{*} Richardson proceeded on the hypothesis that assimilation had three components: satisfaction with life in the adopted country, identification with the dominant national group, and acculturation to the way of life of that group. He further hypothesized that these components are related in such a manner that 'each stage in the assimilation process is a prerequisite for the occurrence of each subsequent phase'. Although this hypothesis was not confirmed by the results of his research, we propose to follow the example of Richardson and Taft by examining the components of assimilation, determining if possible, under what circumstances one follows from another.

The first component we shall use is the unequivocal concept of satisfaction, as defined by the individual's attitude toward the host country.

The second is identification, thinking and feeling oneself belonging to the host country and identifying oneself with its' fortunes.^Ø

* A. Richardson, The Assimilation of British Immigrants in a Western Australian Community, R.E.M.P. Bulletin 9 (No 1/2) 1961.

Ø Richardson prefers an alternative definition : 'A generalised set to imitate'.

The third is acculturation, defined by Richardson as 'the acquisition and adoption of knowledge, beliefs and behaviour patterns similar to those prevailing in the host society'.

Along the continuum of assimilation implied by the above components there is another position, which might be called 'negative assimilation', corresponding to the position of a dis-satisfied immigrant. Since this is not a component of assimilation - some immigrants appear to be satisfied from the moment of arrival - it cannot be included in the above list.

For the sake of convenience and also clarity we propose to identify four conditions of residents in the following manner.

The discontents refer to those people who are dis-satisfied, irrespective of their degree of identification or acculturation.

The satisfied are those who, while scoring in the 50th percentile or above on an attitude-scale, do not identify with the host country.

The migrationally fulfilled are those who are highly satisfied (falling in the 70th percentile or above) and who have identified, but who have not, according to criteria presented

✓ Ibid.

* This term is used advisedly for, as will be discussed in a later chapter, not all dis-satisfied residents are immigrants. In some matters and concerning some values, there is more normlessness among the indigenous minority.

later, acculturated.

Lastly, the assimilated refer to all those who are both migrationally fulfilled and acculturated.

From the psychological standpoint, then, it is proposed to concentrate attention on the following:

i) Migration. What were the motives for migration? When economic and personal factors appeared similar what was it that distinguished the migrant from the stay-at-home? What was the prospective immigrant's image of the new country? What were his expectations? His aspirations? How did apparent predisposition to change in the potential immigrant influence his subsequent performance?

ii) Satisfaction. What features of the answers obtained to the above questions and of the total personality were the most pertinent to the production of satisfaction within the Southern Rhodesian context?

iii) Migrational fulfilment. What personal qualities facilitated fulfilment to flow from satisfaction?

iv) Assimilation. What appeared to be the main psychological differences separating the fulfilled from the assimilated, and, in the case of the latter, what psychological processes were involved in the transition?

v) Emigration. Many migrants remain unsettled and re-

emigrate. What were the most significant psychological characteristics of this group? How did the relatively satisfied prospective emigrant differ from the comparatively dis-satisfied migrant who had no intention of leaving?

vi) What was the manner of the interlinkage between factors of psychological and sociological importance? For example, if the adoption of certain race attitudes was an important prerequisite for social acceptance, what factors of personality facilitated this occurrence? Did the authoritarian-type personality perhaps have an advantage?

On the sociological side the first term we shall employ is absorption. Absorption entails 'the learning of new roles, the transformation of primary group values, and the extension of participation beyond the primary group in the main spheres of the social system ... only in so far as these processes are successfully coped with are the immigrants' concept of himself and his status and his hierarchy of values reformed into a coherent system, enabling him to become once more a fully functioning member of society.

The use of this term, as well as providing the sociological analogue for 'assimilation', an individual assimilates whereas society absorbs, disposes of the question of the difference between individual and group assimilation.

Whereas the individual may become invisible in all sorts of social contexts yet still retain contact with a 'visible' group, similarly residential groups, for example, may be visible although the individuals comprising them remain invisible in all extra-residential activities. In accordance with this distinction an individual is assimilated or is not assimilated, a group is or is not absorbed. Furthermore, an individual may belong to an unabsorbed group, and an absorbed group may contain one or more unassimilated individuals.

As various workers have pointed out, the process of social change inherent in most migrations, involves not only the attainment of specific goals but also the reforming of the immigrant's entire status-image and set of values. This amounts to the socialisation of the individual. It is important to learn the extent to which the various social channels of communication between the immigrant's primary groups and the social structure that is absorbing them, operate. The extent and effects of social participation in the new country are vital parts in the learning of fresh social roles and group values, and are therefore vital to the absorptive process as a whole.

The opportunities for social interaction will determine its prevalence, and one of the most important factors in creating opportunity is the ecological spread of ethnic and other socially stratified groups. This consideration requires the introduction of a second sociological concept, that of dispersion. This refers to the pattern of the dispersion of immigrants within the main

geographical areas and the main institutional spheres of the host society. Only with indiscriminate dispersion will foci of inter-group tensions be avoided and complete absorption be possible. In this connection the degree of social integration between old and new immigrants is important. It has been shown that dispersal within the formal, institutional zones is not sufficient for full absorption. The importance of the informal, primary group has to be recognised.

The first contacts made by immigrants with the new society, its values and attitudes and social structure are generally obtained through acquaintance with other individuals with whom there has emerged a primary group relationship. The primary group is, in this sense, the main catalytic agent for absorption. Initial contacts with officials are relatively few since immigration is minimally formal.

"Membership in a (primary) group", wrote Holmans^{*}, "sustains a man, enables him to maintain his equilibrium under the ordinary shocks of life and helps to bring up children who will in turn be happy and resilient. If his group is shattered around him, if he leaves a group in which he was a valued member, and if, above all, he finds no new group to which he can relate himself, he will, under the stress, develop disorders of thought, feeling and behaviour. His thinking will become obsessive, elaborated without sufficient reference to reality; he will be anxious or angry, destructive to himself or to others; his behaviour will be compulsive, not controlled; and if the process of education that makes a man easily able to relate himself to

* G.C.Holmans, The Human Group, London, 1951, p.457.

others is itself social, he will, as a lonely man, bring up children who have a lowered social capacity."

The present study has therefore, in part, concentrated on the group affiliation approach. As well as consideration of group memberships and individual social activity undertaken during the analysis of case-studies, a study has been made of patterns of friendship and prestige and of value-systems in the two largest residential groups of immigrants.

In addition to its importance as an indicator of the conditions making possible new systems of primary group relationships, the factor of dispersion is important in another way. It emphasises the fact of numbers. The system of interaction between an incoming group and the receiving society will vary according to the relative sizes of each. Dispersion and absorption are closely related concepts.

There is another form of social grouping that may be expected to play an important part in assimilation. This is the reference group. How are these chosen by the new immigrant? Is there, as Eisenstadt has suggested might be the case, a tendency for the newcomer to choose them in terms of some of the values of the host society? Again, what is the relationship between the individual's reference groups and the actual group roles that he plays? In other words, what function do reference groups play in the institutional structure in helping to 'resocialise' the newcomer?

One further matter of considerable sociological significance, was the fact, underlined in Chapter II, that European Society in Southern Rhodesia is pluralistic. There are several self-sufficient, readily identifiable ethnic groups within the host society. Whether or not the existence of such minority groups is a sign of lack of complete adaptation has often been debated. Eisenstadt argues* that it is not their mere existence but the extent to which their structure is balanced in relation to the total social structure that matters. Balance implies i) an internal status structure that is not completely opposed to that of the absorbing society, ii) additional status premisses that are acceptable as legitimate within the host society, and iii) an acceptance on the part of immigrants of the status allotted them.

An integrated approach must, however, go further than this. The existence of a distinctive ethnic community is only consistent with full absorption when complete assimilation is possible, within the host population.

For this reason a study was separately undertaken of the principal minority ethnic groups. Although the results are not incorporated in the present text, references to them will be made wherever appropriate.

Throughout the present study it has to be remembered that the division separating the immigrant from the host society is

* Ibid, p.19.

far less clear in Southern Rhodesia than in any other place where parallel studies of migration have occurred. In a very real sense, European society as a whole is an immigrant one with changing social patterns and fluctuating values. In many ways the new immigrant finds himself playing the role of guest in his own house. The strong emotional allegiance to the symbol of the British crown means that immigrants from Britain especially (and to a slightly lesser extent English-speaking South Africans) are commonly regarded as members of the same family transferring their place of residence. Southern Rhodesia, after all, has throughout her entire post-settlement history, been an immigrant society. For these reasons it has been thought necessary, in certain places, to distinguish between three components of society : born-Rhodesians, pre-war immigrants and post-war immigrants. This distinction is not arbitrary, being based where used on the differing norms of each.

There is a further sociological concept, accommodation, that is useful as signifying the acceptance by an individual of the group's folkways, mores, and institutional norms. In each case it is a necessary precursor to adjustment and assimilation.

The rationale of our exploratory attempt to examine the prospects for integrating the sociological with the psychological approach to the study of adjustment is that, irrespective of

whether the individual is the primary frame of reference (as in the present study) or whether it is the host society, the process constitutes a social 'whole'. It should therefore be possible to examine, in the first case, what sociological factors facilitate, and what sociological factors retard, the process of assimilation, by the nature of the reactive influences set up between them and the individual. In the second case it should be possible to assess what psychological factors affect the salience of the institutional and structural mechanisms as media toward the absorption of new immigrants in a given culture.

We do not expect to provide more than a very provisional guide to this problem in the present study since, in the first place, the primary aim is an investigation of European assimilation in a colonial context, and in the second case, the unknown characteristics of the receiving society have rendered this research more complex than otherwise it might have been.

Nevertheless it is hoped to show, for example, how different

individuals, just because of their differences, respond differently to the individually indiscriminating institutions and value-systems, and, *mutatis mutandis*, how the developing sociological factors are influenced by the changing population. Which, for example, of the individual's personality needs help determine the reference groups of the individual and what is the relation of these needs to his place within society?

Stated in its simplest terms belief in the value of inter-

disciplinary integration is based on the conviction that since individuals respond individually to demographic and sociological variables, any comprehensive account of the processes involved in adjustment must consider both the dependent variables and the independent variables - acculturation and all relevant socio-economic factors.

We turn now to a brief summary of the methods used in the present enquiry. For the sake of clarity, and because more detailed references are to be found in the text, these will be listed in the order of their implementation.

1. A four-page questionnaire, a copy of which is appended, was circulated to every tenth household in the greater Salisbury area and to other urban and rural localities in Southern Rhodesia. The purpose of this was:

- i) To determine basic demographic and ecological data.
- ii) To locate certain beliefs and attitudes, which could then be related to data (i) above, relating to Rhodesian life and customs, political issues, racial questions and general (locally non-specific) opinions. These forty statements were incorporated after a small pilot study had indicated their discriminating sensitivity.
- iii) To measure a score on a Likert-type attitude scale for satisfaction with Rhodesia, the items of which were selected following a pilot study.
- iv) To obtain a measure of anomie, using Srole's scale.

- v) To ascertain certain features of social stratification, in particular the possible existence of observed class conflict, the criteria for determining social class, and self-perceived stratum (using the subjective method of measuring social class-position of members).
- vi) To obtain an indication of religious belief and church participation.
- vii) To determine voluntary group memberships.
- viii) To assess the most common causes of a) commendation and b) complaint, about the Rhodesian way of life.
- ix) To gather certain biographical details relating to immigration.

2. Intensive case-studies of individual Europeans, immigrant and non-immigrant. This was designed especially to illuminate (a) the general social situation of the individual and degree of 'belongingness', (b) the degree of prejudice, authoritarianism, stereotypy, anxiety and the general personality pattern, and (c) biographical detail that might be particularly relevant to any of the above and also to the process of migration and subsequent degree of assimilation.

The case-studies were chosen from among respondents to the original questionnaire according to their score on the Satisfaction scale. Before interviews commenced, once the initial sample was known, a check was made on its composition by length of residence, sex and marital status. As this showed the sample

to be satisfactory in all these respects, we proceeded accordingly. (It was not expected that there would be any low-scorers among the born-Rhodesians but in fact there were). Techniques employed included the following:

- A. Structured Interview Schedule.
- B. Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale.
- C. Two specific questions related to listening and reading habits.
- D. Test 2 and test 4 of the Social Intelligence Test (Washington Series).
- E. Twelve selected pictures of the Murray TAT.
- F. (Revised) F-scale.
- G. A specially devised racial questionnaire.
- H. Projective Questions.
- I. Stereotypes and Social Distance Schedule.
- J. Questionnaire relating to Rhodesian ranking of occupational status.
- K. Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.
- L. Wechsler Measure of Adult Intelligence.
- M. Free interview. (Views about the country, patterns of friendship, economic position, personal history and problems, group memberships, health, etc.)

3. Prospective Immigrants. As many prospective immigrants to Southern Rhodesia from the United Kingdom as were willing to co-operate (invitations were sent through the good offices of Rhodesia House) were interviewed by a post-graduate assistant in

London and in Southampton. These cases were then followed up by the writer in Rhodesia. Before leaving they were interviewed (open-ended, semi-structured) given a racial questionnaire and either the California Personality Inventory or the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. These subjects, in addition to answering a large number of questions, were asked to predict (i) how they might change with post-migrational experience, and (ii) where their present views and attitudes conflicted with their assessment of majority opinion in Southern Rhodesia. Questions were also framed to determine migrational motivation, expectations and aspirations.

4. Ethnic Minorities. A study was carried out in Salisbury among the Greek, Hollander, Afrikaaner and Jewish communities, and in rural areas among an additional Afrikaaner community. Emphasis was on the degree of dispersion, the extent and quality of in-group activity, the degree of internal structure and general accommodation. In addition, sociometric and participant techniques were employed, and the Satisfaction scale, Role anomie scale, stereotypy and social distance schedules were all administered.

5. Casual interviews. This was a method of house-to-house sampling used mainly in Salisbury for determining the norms of stereotypy, social distance and social stratification for that city. These respondents were also questioned about their vertical mobility (its extent and motivation), and details of

their age, sex, occupation, length of residence, country of origin and residential area were recorded. The method of block-sampling was used, taking a 1.5% sample from each of nine civic areas, chosen in the light of knowledge obtained from the general questionnaire.

6. **Emigrants.** Any prospective emigrant from Southern Rhodesia who came to our attention was invited to co-operate by completing the total battery of tests and questions administered to case-studies. Certain questions were added relating to the question of the emigration.

7. Although the above six items constitute the main body of data on which the present study has drawn, a number of ancillary studies were also made. The two most relevant, each of which forms the subject of a paper appended separately to this report, were (a) a study of the national distribution of intelligence among the European school population (as measured by the revised version of the standardised South African Group Test) made in conjunction with an investigation of friendship patterns, reciprocal relationships and ascribed influence according to school, class, father's occupation, length of residence and country of origin; and (b) an enquiry into African attitudes towards Europeans in urban Salisbury, to determine whether whites are distinguished in any way, especially in terms of length of stay in Southern Africa and country of origin.

These, together with frequent attention to statistical

material as recorded in the Central African Statistics Office and the Public Records Office, constitute the principal methods on which the present investigation is based.

Summarising the most important findings among the material that has been presented, the following seem the most important conclusions, especially with regard to satisfaction level and identification.

Satisfaction is related to:

- a) Occupation
- b) Length of residence
- c) Church membership
- d) Income (among males)
- e) Educational attainment
- f) Political allegiance
- g) Sex (women are less satisfied than men)
- h) Age (the under-20s are more satisfied)
- i) Country of origin

Satisfaction is not related to:

- i) Marital status
- ii) Residential area (with two possible exceptions) within Salisbury. There is, however, evidence that the rural population had a higher mean satisfaction score than the urban population.

With regard to identification to Rhodesia, this seemed related to:

- a) Occupation (among self-employed non-professionals the

extent was especially high)

- b) Length of residence
- c) Church membership
- d) Political allegiance
- e) Age, being high for young (25-34) South Africans, and low for middle-aged (45/54) and ageing (55 -) South Africans
- f) Country of origin
- g) Residential area

Identification seems not to be related to:

- i) Sex
- ii) Marital status
- iii) Income (male)
- iv) Educational attainment.

Among other significant findings were :

1. That approximately one in four adults wish to return to their country of origin.

2. That only 53% of the white population identifies with Southern Rhodesia.

3. That, as the population grows, the proportion born in Rhodesia increases inversely to the proportion born in Britain. Thus the percentage born in Britain grows smaller as the age-scale is descended.

4. That a rapid change in attitude level towards Rhodesia (and other images and values) takes place after two years. The

critical period appears to fall during the first and second years. Again, after ten years of residence, the satisfaction norm exceeds the national average.

5. That whereas those people who are dis-satisfied with Rhodesia tend to support right-wing political parties, the opposite does not hold true.

6. That satisfaction and identification do not necessarily follow in sequence, nor are they always associated with the same variables. Income, for example, is related to satisfaction but not to identification, whereas urban residential area and age are both more generally associated with identification.

7. The importance of cultural plurality was indicated by both the Greek and the Dutch Reformed Church responses. In the former case, members of the Greek community are, as an ethnic category, second in their degree of general satisfaction only to the locally-born, yet in their identification with Rhodesia they fall below all other groups, except only the Americans (most of whom were transient). In the case of the D.R.C., among all religious groups they showed the least satisfaction, having a mean score lower than that of any other category, except immigrants from Holland, 19% of whom are D.R.C. members, and those people who still regard themselves as Hollanders.

8. The occupational pattern, according to country of origin, shows that a disproportionately large number of born-Rhodesians fill junior and less skilled positions. Also that the number of South African immigrants tend to exceed chance expectation at both ends of the occupational continuum, having more among the unskilled and semi-skilled classes, and more among the professional, with correspondingly fewer among the middle-range, managerial and self-employed, categories.

PART II.

CHAPTER II

The Sociological Framework.

We begin by considering some of the relevant sociological characteristics of the receiving society.

A full account of the assimilation of European immigrants into Southern Rhodesia would constitute the social history of that country. European settlement began in about 1860, the year in which an elephant hunter called John Lee acquired a farm in the Mangwe valley and a German American adventurer named Adam Renders was found living with the daughter of a chief near Zimbabwe. Then also, the London Missionary Society established the first Mission station in Inyati. With the occupation of Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column in 1890, the white population quickly expanded until, by 1904, after the successful conclusion of the Matabele war, it exceeded 10,000. Thereafter, with the opening of the Beira-Salisbury-Cape Town railway in 1902, and with the growing awareness of the great natural resources waiting to be exploited and the equable climate to be enjoyed, a growing number of immigrants were attracted to Southern Rhodesia to seek their fortunes.

The growth of the European population, from 11,000 in 1901 to 223,000 in 1960, is portrayed in Diagram 1. From this it will be seen that, with the exception of the three years immediately following the Second World War, immigrants have been arriving continuously rather than in waves, most of them from

South Africa and Great Britain.

This rapid population growth (the white population has increased since 1951 at an average compound rate of 6.5 per annum) has occurred, however, only partly through immigration. The rate of natural increase during the period 1956/58 was between 2.1 and 2.3% per annum, one of the highest white rates in the world.

The remarkable speed of this increase can be more readily appreciated when compared to the situation in other countries. Whereas in Great Britain, for example, the population will double itself at present rates, in 88 years, and in the United States, in 52 years, in Southern Rhodesia the white population will double itself in 9 years. Even more remarkable is the high proportion of European residents who were not born in the country. It is estimated that, at the time of this research (1959-1962), approximately 85 in every 100 adults were immigrants. This ratio of immigrant to indigenous stock is thought to be higher than that obtaining in any other country.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the culture patterns and social institutions of the white population, a number of important demographic characteristics must be observed. Perhaps the most striking is its youthfulness. The average male* is 28.5 years old, the average female 29.1, giving a national average of only 28.8 years. Although, as will be mentioned later, the average age of the new immigrant is tending to increase, these figures indicate the exceptional youthfulness of the white

* These figures are the author's estimates based on the 1956 Census Return, CA.S0/1960.

population. 77% of the adult female population is of child-rearing age, a fact which is largely responsible for the high average net reproduction rate. A youthful society is likely to be vigorous and, since such a large proportion of its members have the greater part of their lives before them, they may be more actively concerned with the future. If adjustment is also easier, so may a certain immature impulsiveness make that adjustment more frequently necessary. It is also important to recognise that the new immigrant, whose average age (excluding dependents) is 30-31, arrives in a society whose median age-group corresponds to his own.

The white population is now urbanised. Whereas almost all the original settlers were farmers and others associated with the land, the proportion of immigrants living in towns has steadily increased so that, in 1960, 62% of the population lived in one of the three main centres Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali. If all towns exceeding 2,500 inhabitants are considered as 'urban', then 72% of white society is urban dwelling. That part of the cultural heritage of Southern Rhodesia which was not derivative began in the bush, which attracted the kind of adventurous men and women who have always gone to seek their fortune and a better way of life in the frontier areas of the world. These people had certain values in common which became more and more threatened as the urban centres expanded, so that in 1960, 6 of every 7 new immigrants had an urban background and intended to remain urban,

attracting an increasingly urban type of immigrant. Although, as we shall observe later, this shift from a rural to an urban population created tensions, and led to a sharp distinction being drawn between the old-timer 'pioneer' and the new immigrant*, the degree of external threat posed by growing African demands more than counterbalanced this danger to group solidarity.

Another relevant factor is that 59% of the white population lives in either Salisbury or Bulawayo, giving to these centres an influence which exceeds the rest of the country and which has led to a centrifugal society. Politically, economically and socially the country is now led by whatever emerges from these centres.

Another important demographic characteristic is its degree of ethnic heterogeneity. Although the majority of the Europeans come either from Great Britain or South Africa, there are sizeable minorities mostly resident in and around Salisbury, from Holland, Germany, Italy, Greece, Portugal and the island of Rhodes. Added to their ethnic difference are various religious affiliations which often indicate cultural as well as doctrinal differences. Thus, although only 9% of the population originally came from a non-British country ~~ff~~, in addition to a large number of non-English speaking Europeans who are members of the Roman Catholic

* Interestingly the new immigrant has never been given an epithet as occurred, for example in Australia.

~~ff~~ At the period under consideration, the Republic of South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth.

Church, 10.9% of the population belongs to the Dutch Reformed Church, 1.2% to the Greek Orthodox Church, and 3.2% to one of the Hebrew Synagogues.

This mixture has been due not only to the influx of refugees and others from Central Europe, including an interesting early migration of Sephardic Jews from the Island of Rhodes, but also to the strongly integrated Afrikaner community from South Africa whose social as well as religious focus was the Dutch Reformed Church. We shall be returning to the implications of this cultural diversity in later pages.

In addition to an urbanized and comparatively heterogeneous people, we have also a mobile people. Although there is no evidence for rural mobility or of rural-urban change, the mean length of stay in one home among the Salisbury sample, was only 1.6 years. There was thus very considerable intra-urban mobility, generally caused either by marriage or by rapid movement up and down the socio-economic ladder. This ceaseless interchange of housing made close community or neighbourhood relations extremely difficult and is undoubtedly a factor in the number of formal, voluntary associations which have developed.

Since society is youthful it contains a high proportion of married persons. 85% of the adult population has been married at some time and 80% were married at the time of our investigations. Nevertheless, the divorce rate was among the highest in the world, only exceeded by Israel and the United

States. 5.8% of the adult population had been divorced. In spite of this, marriage took place at an earlier age than in Britain, corresponding more to the American pattern, and the marriage state was regarded as desirable by the large majority.

During the completion of our field-work, the national economy had been expanding at a rate that almost exactly matched the increase in the white population. According to Prendergast* the expansion rate of Southern Rhodesia during the period immediately preceding 1961 was 9% per annum, making it the highest in the continent. In a country where luxuries in the homeland became for the immigrant necessities, where cars are needed on account of the large distances involved between centres and the limited public transport facilities within them, where refrigerators and other household gadgets are virtually imperative, it was important that this should be the case. Domestic consumption had to be maintained for social as well as economic reasons, for it was only the high standard of living, and the opportunity of continuous improvement, that persuaded large numbers of the white population to remain.

To this heterogeneous, youthful, fertile, urbanised, immigrant, mobile white population, one more sociological generalisation must be added. It is comparatively well educated and skilful, with few of its members employed in a manual capacity. To this extent though not as suggested elsewhere in intelligence, it constitutes a national elite. In

* C.Prendergast, Fastest Growing Country in Africa (Fortune, Vol. LVII. March 58. p.122.)

terms of educational attainment, 68.6% of European society had attained a school leaving certificate, while 11.4% had also received additional formal training other than at a University and a further 11.7% were University graduates. This indicates a remarkably high proportion of educationally qualified adults. When occupation is considered, although a precise estimate is impossible owing to problems of classification, almost the entire population is found to be engaged in professional, managerial or skilled employment.

According to the 1956 Census, 1.6% (1672) of the economically active European population was unemployed, of which the majority (361) were seeking their first employment.

These, then, are the fundamental demographic characteristics of the European society. Important as they are, however, and to them must be added a most congenial climate - they are descriptive rather than predictive. It is now necessary to consider the cultural behaviour and social structure of this society.

The most important single fact, upon which so much is dependent and by which much is influenced, is the racial situation. The Europeans are out-numbered by 11 to 1 and, in spite of their own increase, the discrepancy is widening. They have the best jobs, they live in the best suburbs, they exercise political power, they earn the most money. But they are inferior numerically and in world opinion they are suspect

morally. Europeans are persistently bombarded with reports of world hostility and suspicion, reaching them in the press and over the radio. This heightens insecurity, increases anxiety and strengthens white internal unity. Their power is political, supported by a well-trained police force and well equipped small army. Most of them know that wherever else they might go, their status certainly and their income probably will drastically fall; for many, modern Southern Rhodesia is not only home but the giver of all good gifts and the child of all their efforts. Although flanked on two sides by white governments that are apparently successful in containing African demands, they are also flanked on two other sides by potentially independent African states, whose example is a constant stimulus and challenge to the frustrated African nationalists within. Through the efforts of cheap African labour, as much as by the more expensive skills of the white man, Southern Rhodesia has attained its present position. That the situation of bitterness and suspicion between white and black cannot long continue is seen by most, just as its complexity is spoken of by all. Where opinions differ is over what should be done.

It is not our purpose to enter a discussion concerning the merits and demerits of the different political, social and economic arguments. The crucial fact for the present study is the pervasiveness of the racial problem, the fact that the immigrant finds himself, as soon as he arrives, catapulted into

a vortex of political argument and racial disharmony demanding from him an attitude even if at first he hesitates to form an opinion. There is also the fact that although white cohesion is solidified by all these pressures, it is also threatened by the scope of disagreement.

The major value orientations are still essentially those of a frontier society. We shall concentrate our attention on those value systems which seem of interest on account of their role in social interaction. First, it is more nearly classless than either South Africa or Great Britain, from where the majority of its people have come, and although it likes to consider itself entirely so in order to emphasise white solidarity and unity of interest, the components of status remain sufficiently clear to encourage ambition and reward success. The freedom from rigid stratification which characterised the early pioneer days of the colony has been replaced, *pari passu* with urbanisation, by more clearly defined criteria.

There were differences, too, in ways of life. There was found to be a high correlation between participation in formal interest groups and occupational level. Dividing the city of Salisbury in two is the main rail-road to the coast. To the south of this lie the African townships and, between them and the line of rail, the poorer European suburbs. On the north are situated the higher socio-economic-class suburbs, rising in attributed quality commensurate with their distance from the track. There is little social intercourse between Europeans

living on opposite sides of this line. Stratification is thus clearly enough defined to make it visible, but remains loose enough for people to ascend and fall freely. Thus on the one hand, the myth of classlessness could be defended and feelings of white solidarity enhanced, but on the other hand, tangible social rewards, in terms of status and neighbourhood, remain as stimulants for the immigrant who is able to enjoy a higher place than that to which he has been accustomed, as prospects of continued advance to rewarding further effort. The system might be described as objective privilege rewarding merited success as a result of equal opportunity. Those unfortunate enough to remain at the bottom are helped just sufficiently* to preserve the myth of classlessness, a myth universally defended with emotional vigour. To these unfortunate whites at the bottom of the social scale is added a further incentive for preserving the myth. The notion of class consciousness is accentuated as a mental bulwark against the economic and social threats of their African competitors. To these people, made rigid through insecurity, the difference between themselves and the blacks, is far more obvious and far more important than any slight stratification that may exist among their white peers.

Second, there is considerable value given by this culture to achievement, whether in the form of dominance by the individual over natural obstacles, as commonly occurred in the

* By the Department of Social Welfare.

pioneer days, or control by the individual over large financial enterprises, as more frequently characterises urban society. Success, measured in terms of wealth or occupation, is greatly to be desired. In a society of relatively high social mobility, in which personal status largely depends upon occupational achievement, material prosperity is one of the few obvious signs of one's position in the hierarchy. Since the large majority of the successful are immigrants who had not previously experienced the pleasures that high social status and material benefits can offer, these advantages were even more strongly re-inforced. That which is gained after prolonged scheming and protracted effort is always more cherished than that which is easily attained, by chance or inheritance.

Action and mastery of the physical world become social values without the concomitant 'metaphysical drive to work' that typified the American frontiersman. Although, in Central Africa as in the United States, work was necessary for group survival and desirable because of the richness of the reward, there was in the former case a large labour force available to do most of the back-breaking toil. Thus, in Southern Rhodesia, the value lay in being practical rather than in being hard-working per se. This is not to argue that many of the early settlers were not as energetic as the frontiersmen of North America but that in the former case, the ability to convert barren country into productive farmland lay more in agricultural skill and the

handling of labour relations than in the sheer quality of persistent toil.

This practical orientation of effort toward the conversion of virgin land slowly changed as the introduction of primary and secondary industries, and of commerce, overtook the development of agriculture as the colony's chief source of prosperity. Thus, although agricultural know-how is still highly respected, the most prestigious type of success lies in the control of economic wealth, through large-scale industry and big business, and the manipulation of the national power structure through politics. The guiding criteria has changed not only for economic but also for political reasons. Whereas in the early days the management of land and local labour forces was vital, in more recent times it has been the management of political power that has been so important for social security and continued, short-term economic prosperity.

If the conceptual framework in which values are perceived is also considered, there is no doubt that the unlimited optimism and individuality of the past has gradually given way to insecurity, social solidarity and the stubborn desire to hold fast to all that has been achieved. This means that whereas in the past the cultural climate was activist and forward-looking, with the growth of African political awareness, it has become more conservative in the sense that conservation is more important than innovation. Although Allan Wilson, brave leader

of a patrol massacred by the Matabeles in 1883, is still one of this culture's heroes, his place is threatened by Sir Roy Welensky, the contemporary politician.

There was perhaps an even more profound shift in the fundamental framework of values. The first settlers had been closely accompanied by religious missionaries and the ideals which first developed among white society were strongly imbued with a religious flavour. There were certain ultimate values which not only determined the relationships between the races but which bolstered the belief that the Africans were inferior morally. As time has passed many of these ultimate values have been gradually replaced by expediency, partly because of the influx of urbanized immigrants and partly because changes in the social and political climate led to their dissipation in favour of more adaptability to immediate interests and satisfactions. The old value of the practical was joined to the need to be expedient. This enables Southern Rhodesia to develop without having to face widespread conflict between the Christian principle of equality and the pioneer principles of achievement and individuality. With the advent of the concept of racial partnership, a natural corollary of this ideological compromise, the distinction was publicly made between the equality of opportunity explicitly accepted, and equality of condition, which was implicitly rejected. By drawing this distinction, culture re-conciled extrinsic individuality, the right of all men to improve themselves in ways theoretically open to all, with intrinsic individuality, the

differences that exist between men. In other words although what a man is may deny equality, what a man has should reflect equal opportunity. Such a system of beliefs has to be based on the implicit worth of the social order, and although total equality is impossible, thus permitting discrimination, equality of opportunity is permissible, thus maintaining faith in the basic concept of equality. It may be argued that, in a sense, whereas Europeans employ the Marxist notion of freedom for the Africans, the right to education within an acceptable framework, the right to work, they employ the western notion of freedom for themselves, the right to have representative government, the right to choose their own location and to control their own business affairs.

From such a point of view, it became easy to believe, as Henry Myers has written of another culture*, "that when men are free from all governmental interference, virtue finds its tangible reward in wealth and vice its penalty in economic failure", and that, as Williams wrote of the United States ≠ "society is a neo-Darwinian jungle in which only the fittest should survive, and the fittest are those who can win out by intelligence, industry or ruthlessness" ≠. To this structure of values must be added the fact that the continuous stream of newcomers was arriving with the firm resolve, and for the express purpose, of improving its condition. For the most part they had faith in their own ability, and in the ability of the

*Henry Meyers, Are Men Equal ? (New York, 1945)

≠American Society. R. Williams Jnr, (Knopf, 1951, p.421).

new environment to provide what they sought. At the same time they perceived immediately the unprivileged condition of the African who was denied these same opportunities. What more natural, then, than that the culture should respond to the motivations of the immigrant, whilst providing a rationalisation in the form of a value-judgement to explain away his doubts!

A number of factors which have already been mentioned led to the growth and popularity of formal associations. These were urbanisation, ethnic heterogeneity, intra-urban mobility and the need for increased social solidarity occasioned by external threats. To these must be added the traditional pioneer virtue of friendliness and the comparative lack of recreational facilities other than sport. Thus, in addition to membership of a church, which was confirmed in no less than 95.15% of cases by the 1956 census, and by 85.65% of our own general sample, we estimate that 66.8% of white adults, that is two in three, belong to at least one formalised social group.

It is sometimes argued that in a culture which encourages group participation, individualism tends to become a matter of group individualism, of the 'particularised behaviour of sub-cultures'. Hence, in Southern Rhodesia, there were pressures acting in both directions, towards and against conformity.

Because of the indelible mark of the white skin, conformity to the ideals of equal opportunity but intrinsic superiority, to the political belief that power must, for the time being at

least, remain in white hands, to the social solidity of white society, and to certain recognised ways of behaving towards Africans, conformity to these notions carries social sanctions. These sanctions, constituting the mores of this society, are enforced by diffuse pressure rather than by specifically design regulation. To invite an African to one's home, to argue that political power should be shared by drastically extending the African franchise, or to advocate desegregated schools and housing, means to court social ostracism. To conform to the mores of race relations, whether conceptually or in more practical terms, is part of the social currency that every new immigrant who wishes to be accepted soon finds it necessary to tolerate and uphold. At the same time, it is interesting to notice that whereas political discussion is constant and seldom discouraged (although it usually deals with means rather than ends), religious argument is socially taboo. In the former case the danger of tension is accepted because the problem is so electric and so pervasive that it requires ventilation. To a newcomer, also, it is necessary to explain the situation and the social currency which it would be in his apparent interest to accept. In the latter case, discussion of religious differences would create inter-personal tensions and threaten inter-group solidarity, and, upon the latter, security and the myth of cultural homogeneity intimately depends.

To the whites in Rhodesia, the culture is regarded as

essentially homogeneous, there being neither the leisure nor the desire to observe otherwise. Had it been different, the situation reported by Broady among the Chinese in Liverpool might have been repeated. There it was precisely those who neither assimilated nor deliberately sought to accommodate themselves to an English culture-pattern who were not subjected to serious culture conflict. In S. Rhodesia, on the other hand, because the only visible culture conflict is between black and white and because it is socially vital for the immigrant to conform, the white immigrant is only subjected to such conflict if he offends against the mores of the receiving society.

This situation has a further, extremely important aspect for race relations and immigrant assimilation. Since conformity has behind it the strength and implicit social sanction, only those whose motives for rejection of the values of the dominant group are exceedingly strong, do so. This implies that such deviances are either courageous or are motivated by personal problems. There is little room for mild disagreement. The fact that among the few who do reject the dominant values are a substantial number of psychologically disturbed individuals who use the occasion of hostility towards white society to act out their own problems, gives gratuitous ammunition to the in-group.

It will also be appreciated that the existence of cultural pluralism enables immigrants from non-English speaking countries to accommodate themselves more comfortably to the change. For

these people, of course, the transition to Southern Rhodesia is more of a cultural shock than for their new English-speaking compatriots since the difference between the old and the new cultures is greater. They arrive to find a readymade community, focussed around their own church, speaking the old language and still practising the old folkways.

The persistent presence of so many clearly-defined, nationalistic, quasi-autonomous, ethnic minority groups has been the product of a number of factors, among them the tradition of missionary activity, providing a national or characteristic church as a ready-made focus, and the governmental policy at one stage of attracting, with the support of the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration, large numbers of 'nominated' immigrants from particular countries. But probably the most powerful single factor has been the resistance of the English-speaking majority to having its social institutions influenced, invaded or changed by the infiltration of 'foreign' elements. These people were therefore thrown back on their own social devices, as it were, in order to preserve a measure of social cohesion. The white majority was always more conscious of its pre-migrational ethnic and cultural unity than it was interested in, or aware of, any need to foster any spirit of nationhood in S. Rhodesia which, it must be remembered, received its first constitution as recently as 1923. This sentiment of exclusiveness and social distance, so often associated with the British has been further accentuated by the fact that newcomers from non-English speaking countries and Afrikaans-speaking

immigrants from South Africa generally occupy lower positions on the socio-occupational scale, not through discrimination, but because they tended to have fewer qualifications and fewer influential contacts.

The presence of these sub-cultures within the European culture, then, although not actively threatening basic white solidarity, and aside from their role in facilitating the early accommodation of non-English speaking immigrants, has had other important influences.

In the first place, they retard, if they do not always entirely prevent, the absorption of these people into the total culture. For example, not only do Greeks worship in their own church, speak their own language, and administer their own school, they also tend to live in the same areas and to work in the same kinds of employment. The existence of these differentiated, segmental groups further weakens the forces acting toward the development of nationalistic feeling and of identification with the long-term destiny of Southern Rhodesia. Although their closed, semi-autonomous character prevents open inter-personal conflict between individuals, their continued, unimpaired existence, usually crystallised around a church and cemented by the use of a common language, is one of three crucial factors that have prevented the rise of any clear feeling of Rhodesian nationhood. The Greek community are a clear case in point for, although highest on the list of satisfaction with S. Rhodesia (by country of origin), they are, with the exception of the Americans - most of whom are transitory - lowest in their degree

of identification. They continue, as a group, to identify with the fortunes and nationhood of Greece. Thus their own Scout troop sought, and obtained, permission to wear the Greek rather than the Rhodesian national flag.

The situation exemplifies Richmond's in-group/out-group hypotheses which is part of his theory of inter-group relations, 'where two or more groups of different ethnic composition come into contact and communication with each other there will be a tendency for the members of the same ethnic group to identify closely with one another to the exclusion of the members of other groups, to whom derogatory characteristics and hostile intentions may be attributed'

Harmony between these sub-cultures, and between them and the main culture, has been preserved for the same reason that they were originally enabled to grow, because European immigration has been encouraged by political insecurity \neq . Since European control was regarded as indispensable for a very long time to come, and since the appearance of white solidarity was more important than the reality of social integration, the existence of ethnic minority groups was much less important than the fact that they all shared equally the significant mores of the dominant culture. In other words, cultural heterogeneity is acceptable as long as there is political homogeneity.

*Colour Prejudice in Britain, (A. Richmond)

\neq "The dominance of the immigrant, the importance (but not the dominance) of the artisan, the high-consumption economy, political homogeneity, and the role of the elite are basic facts of very general importance in Rhodesian politics"

European Politics in S. Rhodesia (Colin Leys,
OUP. 1959 p. 97)

The second major factor accounting for the lack of any marked degree of Rhodesian ethnocentrism is the absence of a sense of mission. The opportunity to create an equal social and political partnership between the races, unique in Africa and possibly in the world, never provided this sense because it was never psychologically accepted by the majority. Other concepts, such as the introduction of representative democracy, have an even hollow ring. The loyalty of the majority has been to itself and to the symbol of the British crown. Primary allegiance has been (at least until recently*) to the British flag and the price of personal insecurity that most immigrants have paid, consciously or otherwise, has been too great to allow any strong emotional ties with Rhodesia as a source with which to be identified.

The third important factor has been the absence of any genuine positive cultural characteristic which could be set up as peculiarly Rhodesian. Those virtues that have been extolled have been nationalistically impersonal, such as the climate, the expansiveness and the freedom from governmental interference. Emotions more designed to arouse gratitude than to evoke strong national sentiment. Those symbols and cultural activities that have aroused patriotic sentiment have been imported; immigrants from Britain resident in the country for many years still speak of their holidays to Britain as a visit 'home', whilst to South

*At the height of the Federal crisis, on April 4, 1963, Sir Roy Welensky is reported to have said, in reply to a questioner "I hope and I am certain that it is the view of the vast majority of people, that they will want to stay in the Commonwealth".

Africans, whose cultural derivatives are still more conveniently placed, there is the prevalent feeling that circumstances, political or economic, may one day allow a final return. In neither case has there been sufficient isolation from the home country to encourage the complete break that is the necessary pre-requisite for identification to take place with an adopted country.

To these reasons may be added another. S. Rhodesia is still passing through the migrational stage. It is estimated that about 25% of immigrants re-emigrate and this figure is rapidly increasing. In 1961, the last year for which figures are available, more migrants left the country than arrived. This means that an extremely high proportion of the population is internationally mobile, a fact that militates against stability.

The dominant systems of values of this culture may be summarised in the following way:

1. Active mastery of the physical and social environment rather than quiescent acceptance. This implies a stress on power and manipulation and a low threshold of tolerance or frustration.
2. Reliance on independent effort rather than on government 'interference'. Thus naturally carries over into hostility and suspicion toward any external authority or individual who criticises the territory's internal affairs. Such sentiments as "We know our own business best" and "Outside interference is largely based



on ignorance' are commonplace.

3. A greater interest in extraverted activities, such as open-air physical pursuits, than in introverted activities. This had led to a condition described by a local writer as "the featureless quality of the social landscape"*..
4. An ethic based more on expediency than on universality.
5. A belief in the basic superiority of white culture, associated with the principle of universal equality of condition[†], each requiring continuous conscious effort to sustain, the former by, practically, the latter by reiterated articulation.
6. Basic allegiance and patriotism to the British crown.
7. Related with 1., the gratification of desire, especially the provision of a high degree of physical comfort and the tolerance of divorce.
8. The quality of casual friendliness without the concomitant encouragement of profound inter-personal relationships.
9. An emphasis on individuality rather than group identity, although tolerance towards socially organised white minority groups. Hence there has been no compulsion to assimilate, nor any socially significant distinction made between old pioneer families (some resident for three generations) and even the most recent arrivals.
10. The high value attached to political solidarity so far as political ends are concerned.
11. A tendency, exemplified in 4, 5 and 7, towards the secularisation

*White Settlers in Tropical Africa (L.H.Gann & P.Duignan, Penguin, 1962).

† Of "The race dogma is nearly the only way out for a people so moralistically equalitarian, if it is not prepared to live up to its faith.

American Dilemma (G.Myrdal, NY. Vol 1, p.89).

of fundamental values.

We conclude this discussion with a consideration of further aspects of the sociological structure relevant to the processes of immigrant assimilation.

Although it is true that every individual immigrant is unique in the sense that his patterns of group affiliation are different from every other individual, the amount of overlapping of group affiliations is not extensive. What Simmel called 'standing at the intersection of social circles' is not greatly relevant to the ethnic minorities who are strongly integrated groups, satisfying most of the social needs of their members. For the large majority, however, it is important, although even here comparison of satisfaction scores according to group memberships showed a significant variation from the norm only in the case of sporting groups and those who were members of no formal association. What is probably more important than membership of formal, secondary groups, is the existence of numerous primary groups in the larger communities. It is membership of these face-to-face groups that helps to set values and to determine the course that assimilation will take for an individual.

In this connection it is necessary to remember that the prevalence of migration away from the original family, especially among the ethnic majority, has led to a low interaction rate among extended circles of kinship. At the same time, the high divorce rate, the prevalence of working mothers and the

(consequent) proliferation of special interest groups, these have all produced a high degree of extra-familial activity. Thus the children are more open to the influence of their peer-groups and less to that of their own family than is customary in Europe. Young unmarried immigrants, of whom a large proportion are girls, find it necessary to start their new life in one of the two hostels specifically catering for their needs. The quality of the relationships here encountered, and the nature of the first friends of the opposite sex, are primarily factors determining their initial attitude towards the new country.

For the older immigrant, in addition to the formalised groups - especially the churches and sporting clubs - the functional specificity of occupations tends towards friendship groups focussed around employment and skill. For whereas there is mobility of labour, both horizontal and vertical, on account of the level of training usually involved, there is a tendency for people to remain in the same type of employment, and because of the weakness of neighbourhood ties, primary groups are generally composed of individuals sharing either an occupational interest, or a sporting interest, or both. The prevalence of golf clubs, for example, which include facilities for cricket, tennis and swimming as well as for children, is a common meeting-ground for newcomers and old-timers alike. It is in this kind of open environment, out-of-door, active and casually social, that patterns of friendship most typically

emerge.

It seems useful to distinguish, in conclusion, between what Williams describes as factual cohesion, 'the human aggregate whose members interact without a disabling degree of overt conflict', and societal integration, 'that occurs through shared values and beliefs'*. In Southern Rhodesia, it seems that we have a social aggregate held together by a convergence of dominating social interests rather than a closely-knit, increasingly ethnocentric culture in the process of forming a nation. When hostility is directed toward a common out-group, and when feelings of personal insecurity are mounting, it is perhaps understandable that this should be so.

* Ibid p.516.

PART III.

CHAPTER III

The General Questionnaire.

In the three chapters which follow, responses to the questionnaire are considered with the focus resting in turn upon those variables most likely to be associated with processes of assimilation.

Four considerations made the examination of these responses universally complex.

1). Within the social context of S. Rhodesia, the concept of assimilation cannot be statistically analysed. No fewer than 85%[≠] of the adult white population are immigrants. With social, political and economic problems continuously changing, with the occupational category of immigrants constantly shifting according to opportunity[♢] and national need, social structure and common frames of reference are each transitory to a degree that is probably unique. For these reasons it has been impossible to differentiate always between change and development occurring within the host society and change and development occurring within the individual immigrant in response to the new environment.

Frames of reference to which the immigrant may have had to adjust often changed before the process of adjustment was com-

≠ According to the 1956 Census, 14.49% of the adult white population ages 21 and over were Rhodesian born.

♢ Only those with guaranteed employment are allowed to enter the country.

NOTE. Throughout this and all succeeding chapters, the 'S' sample refers to results obtained from the Greater Salisbury area, the 'G' sample refers to all responses.

plete, while the very fact that so large a proportion of society was itself passing through some stage of accommodation and adjustment, profoundly influenced the direction and speed of social change. In brief, the interplay between social history and individual acculturation in S. Rhodesia has been most subtly interfused.

2). Immigrants could be divided into three basic groups according to country of origin. These, in numerically descending order, were the U.K. born, the S.A. born, and foreign (non-British) born. The old culture from which each had come and therefore many of the problems which each had encountered when entering the new, varied more considerably than the social differences within each group. Furthermore, the social class and the aspirations of the first two tended to differ from the third, while the respective position occupied by each group within the host society was sufficiently well-defined to make deviation difficult. Country of origin of these three types carried a social hallmark of great and lasting influence.

3). The causal chain in a statistically significant relationship needed to be clearly established. Thus, for example, a statistically significant contingent relation between length of residence and attitude to child-rearing may be due, not to the longer established residents conforming more closely to an indigenous norm, but to the fact that this group, being older, no longer carried any active responsibility for the welfare of their own children. Thus all likely intervening variables had to be considered, and the relationships between them identified, before

even provisional conclusions about causal relationship could be reached.

4). It was proposed to study the process of assimilation along the time-dimension. This had two corollaries. In the first place, it was hoped to study assimilation as a process, considering results for different groups of varying periods of residence in the country. In the second place, any atypical migrational characteristics of one group would be identified. It seemed probable that certain of these characteristics, the disproportionately large number of artisans reaching the country in 1957, for example, would account for variations of response that might otherwise be erroneously attributed to some part of the assimilation process.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a consideration of demographical data obtained from section 'A' of the questionnaire, with particular reference to associations between biographical detail and three key aspects of the assimilation process. These three aspects were:

i) The concept of satisfaction, as indicated by a T-score obtained from a Likert type attitude scale of liking Rhodesia (section Fb408.)

ii) The concept of identification, as indicated by the individuals felt nationality (Section A, Question 17).

iii) The feeling of discontent, which may be regarded as negative assimilation. This was indicated by all respondents,

For the statistical method employed in obtaining this score, see Appendix IV .

who stated they would either a) certainly, or b) probably, return home if they had the opportunity (Section P, Question 49).

In addition to these three particular considerations, responses were analysed in relation to length of residence and country of origin, the latter including the Rhodesian-born whose responses could then be isolated.

Residential Area.

In the twelve most populous suburbs of Salisbury, a contingent relationship was founded with length of residence in Southern Rhodesia, significant at the .01 level with Tschuprow's $T = .139$.

Subsequent inter-question analysis suggested that the main reason for this connection was age. Young immigrants, especially girls without transport of their own, gravitated to the Central area, where a majority of the city's flats are located, and from which it was possible to walk to and from places of employment and entertainment.

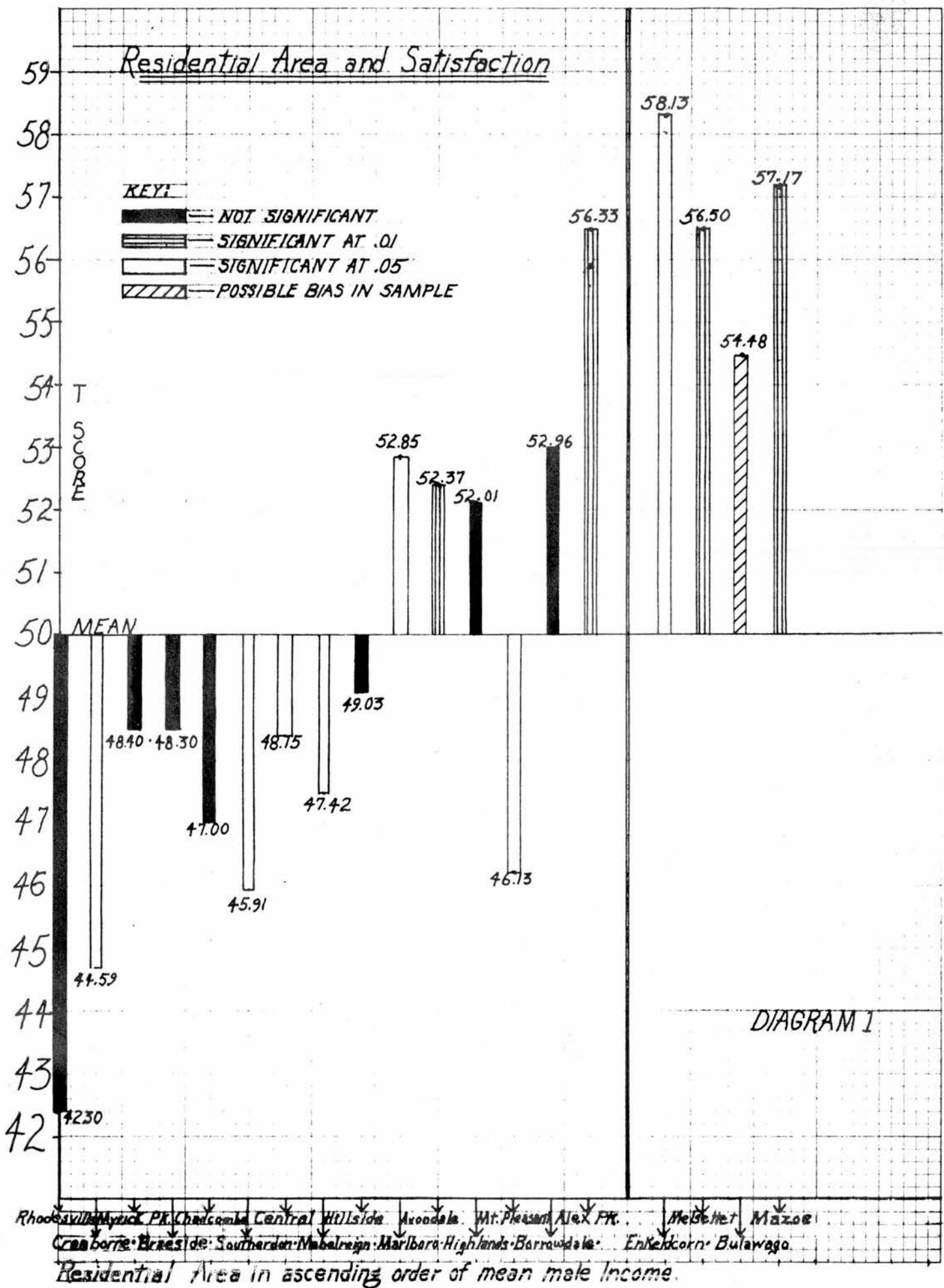
For each area in Salisbury a residential index was obtained indicating the mean length of residence of its inhabitants.

A significant association at the .05 level was found with country of origin, mainly on account of the disproportionately high number of foreign born migrants living in the poorer suburbs. Residents born in the country were randomly distributed throughout all areas except for the presence of significantly

fewer in the Central area, and a significantly greater number in two of the poorer areas, Hatfield and Waterfalls.

Diagram 1 illustrates that, within the greater Salisbury area, only two suburbs showed a highly significant relationship with satisfaction, Avondale and Alexandra Park. Since, reading from left to right, the suburbs are arranged in ascending order of average male income, it seemed apparent that income was more directly associated with satisfaction than place of residence. Nevertheless, in addition to the two suburbs already mentioned, six others produced a result which was significant at the lower (.05) level. This was not entirely consistent with exclusively financial influences. The reason for the unexpected downward divergence in Mount Pleasant is not clear; although the presence of considerable dis-satisfaction was confirmed by the number of C.A.P. (left wing) political supporters in this area. One factor was probably the disproportionate number of comparative newcomers living here. 16 out of the 40 respondents (40%) living in Mt. Pleasant had arrived in Rhodesia during the period 1955/6. It seemed as if this suburb attracted an unduly large proportion of prosperous new immigrants whose high income had not compensated for shortage of time in acquiring a personally satisfying degree of adjustment.

Although identification was found to be associated with residential area (within Salisbury), being significant at the .01 level, this was almost entirely due to the fact, already



noticed, that certain areas attracted new immigrants while others, more prosperous, housed the long-established residents.

Diagram 2 indicates that the percentage of discontented respondents in an area (those who, given the opportunity, would have returned home) tended to decrease as the mean area T-score increased. The proportion of discontents was unexpectedly high, being 20.45% (409) of the total sample and 22.86% (356) of the Salisbury sample. When the twelve most populous suburbs were considered individually the proportion of discontents showed no marked variation, ranging from 35% in Mount Pleasant to 13.07% in Avondale. It is interesting to notice that although these two suburbs were adjacent, with approximately similar average incomes, the average length of residence for the former was 6.6 years and for the latter 12.6 years.

Sex.

This was relevant only to the three assimilative factors. With regard to satisfaction, the mean T-score for the G sample was 49.41 (N 1990). Using a two-tailed test of significance ($Z = 1.92$ N 1081), the mean for the male group, though 0.79 higher, failed to satisfy the 0.5 level of significance. The female group, however, with a mean score of 48.47 (N 909) was significantly lower than the general mean, giving a Z-value of 2.47, satisfying the .05 level. Women were less satisfied than men.

No difference was observed between the sexes according to identification.

*Three adjacent areas (Hillside, Braeside & Lochinvar) were regarded as one for this purpose.

DISCONTINUITIES and RESIDENTIAL AREA

SUBURB	N	%
MARLBORO	22	19.30
HATFIELD	25	16.67
HIGHLANDS	17	23.28
GREENDALE	14	14.00
AVONDALE	23	13.07
CRANBORNE	15	29.41
CENTRAL	71	31.56
BROOKSIDE LOCANNAH HILLSTON	34	24.64
MT. PLEASANT	14	35.00
MARLBORO	13	21.31

45

35

25

15

5

DISCONTINUITIES

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

80

90

100

110

120

130

140

150

160

170

180

190

200

210

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613

SATISFACTION and SEX

G SAMPLE

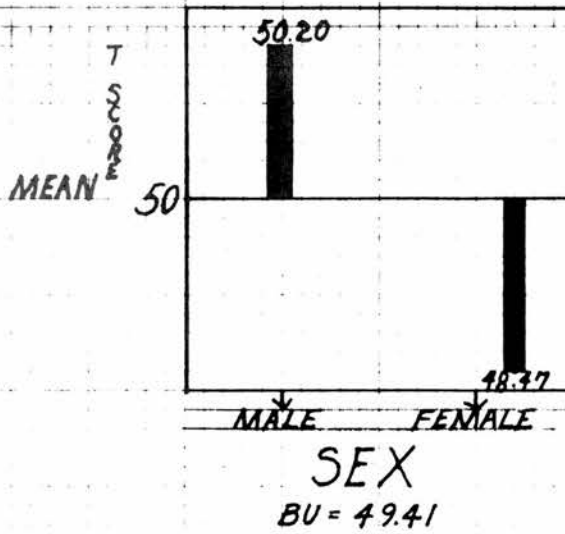


DIAGRAM 3

With regard to discontent, 19.3% (209) of males in the general sample conformed to the criterion we had set, which compared with 21.0% (192) among the females. Thus although women appeared less satisfied, there was an almost equal disposition among men to wish to leave the country. Possible reasons for this will be considered in a later section.

Age.

As would be expected, the average age of all migrants in the sample fell steadily as length of residence increased. As shown in Table 1 the fall, however, was not as great as the span between the groups could alone explain.

TABLE 1.

Age and Year of Arrival (S sample) (Rhod.--born mean : 33.9)

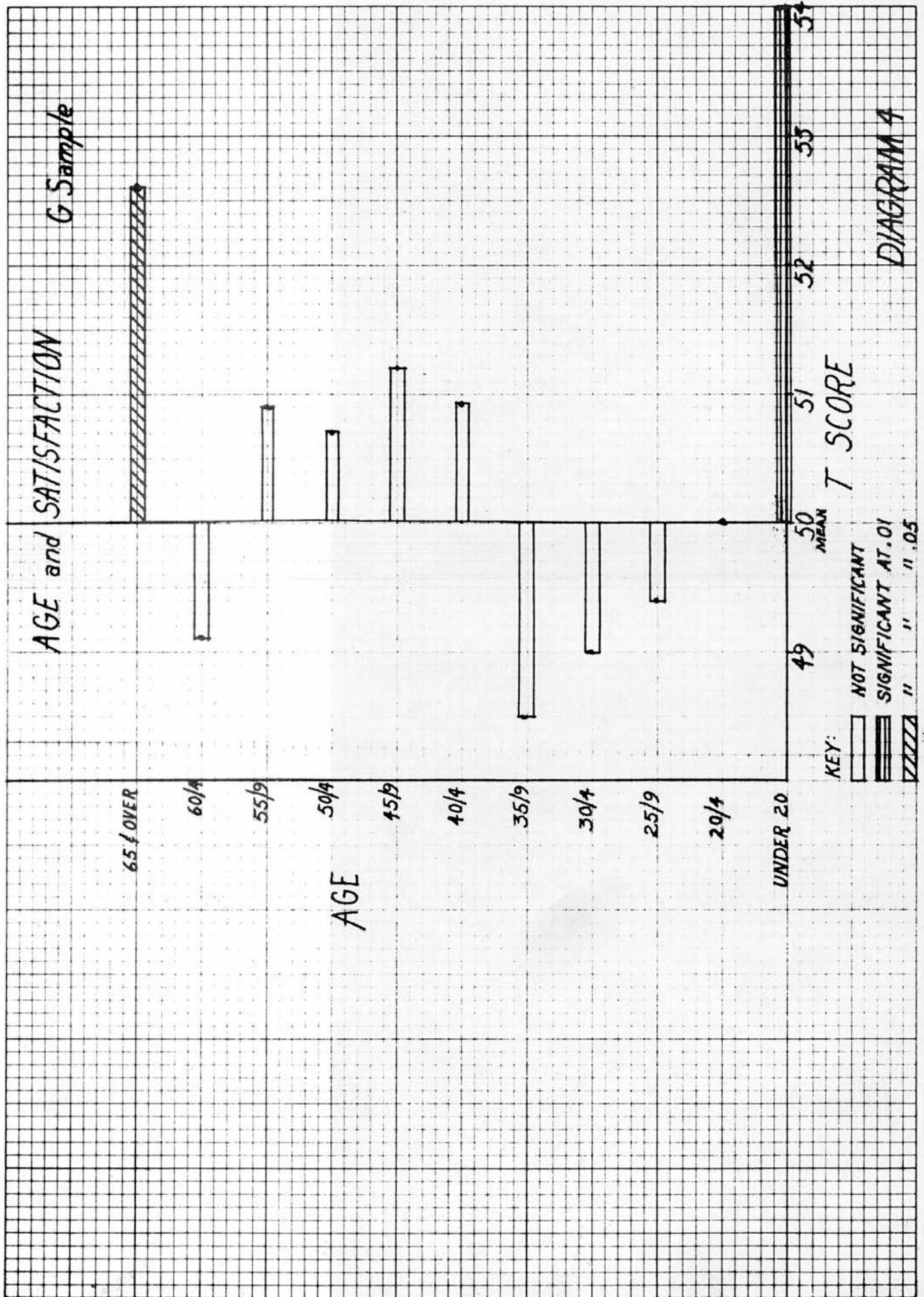
N Average Age Mean age on arrival (rounded)	1959	1958	1957	1955/ 56	1953/ 54	1950/ 52	1948/ 49	1946/ 47	1939/ 45	1936/ 38	1935 & earlier
	69 32.3	122 31.8	128 35.1	187 35.7	127 36.0	203 36.7	148 38.4	115 40.2	51 41.7	43 40.7	176 50.9
	32	31	33	32	30½	29	28	28	26	20	20 (approx)

From an examination of the second line of this table, it will be seen that the average age of immigrants arriving in the country has steadily increased. Before the last war, newcomers had an average age of about twenty years; during the years immediately following the war this suddenly increased to the late twenties until stabilising itself at about 32 in 1955/56.

Diagram 5 illustrates the proportion of the European population in the different age groups. Whereas the proportion born in South Africa has remained approximately steady, the British born figures have declined inversely to age, while the percentage locally-born steadily increases. 69.7% of those aged 60 and over were born in the United Kingdom, but only one quarter of those between the ages of 17 and 20 (inclusive) came from Britain, exactly the same proportion of this age group as were born in Rhodesia.

Using a two-tailed test of significance, only one age group produced a relationship with satisfaction significant at the .01 level ($t = 3.59$). This was the under-twenty group, which included a larger proportion of born Rhodesians than any other group. Two groups gave a result significant at the .05 level, the 35/39 year-olds, whose mean T-score was 48.43 ($t = 2.28$), and the over 65, whose mean T-score was 52.51 ($t = 2.38$). As these relationships are more likely to be secondary, probably sharing associations with the same causal (primary) variables, an explanation of these results will be considered in subsequent sections.

64A



Country of origin as percentage of age group

• S.R.
• S.A.
• U.K.

65+

60%

50%

40%

30%

20%

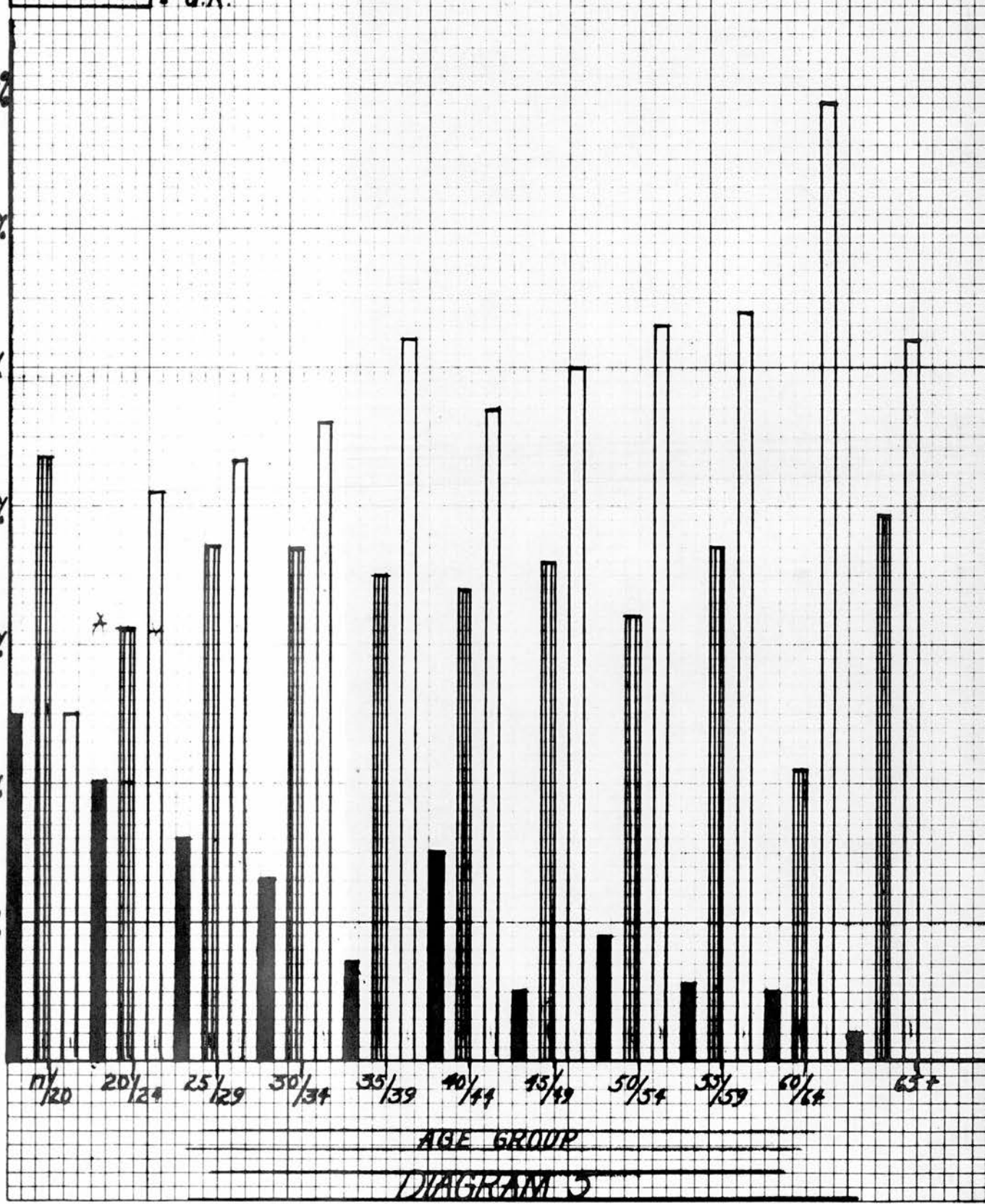
10%

EUGENE DIETZGEN CO.
MADE IN U. S. A.NO. 340-10 DIETZGEN GRAPH PAPER
10 X 10 PER INCH

11/20 20/24 25/29 30/34 35/39 40/44 45/49 50/54 55/59 60/64 65+

AGE GROUP

DIAGRAM 3



When identification was divided according to those who felt respectively Rhodesia, British, South African or of some other nationality (excluding English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh), and when age was classified into five groups (below 25, 25/34, 35/44, 45/54 and over 54) a chi-square total of 63.69 was obtained. With twelve degrees of freedom this was significant at the .01 level. Further inspection of this table showed the results to have been largely due to i) a disproportionately high frequency of those who identified themselves as South African in the 25/34 age-group, ii) a low frequency of those identifying themselves as South Africans among the 45/54 age-group, and iii) an unexpectedly low frequency of those regarding themselves as South Africans among the oldest, 55 and over group.

Since these results could not be attributable to any comparatively fewer number of South African immigrants arriving before 1945, it suggests that whereas South African immigrants were likely to eventually identify themselves with the country - only 10.8% of all South Africans aged 45 and over continued to regard themselves as South African - immigrants from Britain were more resistant. No fewer than 56.35% of immigrants from Britain of this corresponding age continued to feel British rather than Rhodesian.

The proportion identifying themselves as Rhodesians fell within the range of arithmetic expectation for all groups, as did the frequencies of other (foreign) nationalities.

With the one exception of the over 64s, of whom a larger proportion were happily settled, no direct primary association was indicated between age and discontent.

Marital Status.

With the general sample divided into the four categories of a) single, b) married, c) widowed and d) divorced or separated, no significant differences were found in either their respective levels of satisfaction, or in the respective proportions identifying themselves with Rhodesia. Married and divorced residents were neither more nor less satisfied with Rhodesia than the general mean.

Similarly, marital status was found to have no direct relevance to discontent.

Occupation.

For this purpose, occupations were divided into six categories, and only males were included. The six categories were:

- a) Skilled and semi-skilled.
- b) Crafts.
- c) Junior management.
- d) Management.
- e) Company directors.
- f) Professional.

With these divisions, and employing Yates correction for continuity, there was a relationship with length of residence significant at the .01 level, $\chi^2 = 95.86$ (df 55).

Although using an arbitrarily contrived threshold of significance, Table 2 shows that this is due rather to disproportionate numbers arriving in given years, than to any clear upward or downward trend within categories, as might have been expected had occupational advancement been general. Wherever the chi-value for a single cell exceeded 3.8 this is indicated in the table by ++ or --, according to whether the actual frequency exceeded or fell short of simple proportional expectation, and where one cell exceeded 1.50 this is indicated by either + or -.

No significant relationship was found between occupation and country of origin, although when the comparison was narrowed to one between the English and non-English speaking populations, using only four categories (craft, skilled and semi-skilled; management aid; management and professional), $\chi^2 = 19.97$, which was significant at the .01 level. This was explained by the few foreigners employed in junior management positions and the correspondingly high number falling into the self-employed and professional categories.

In Diagram 6, which records the respective means and the degree of significance of the relationship between satisfaction and occupation - males and females separately - the male occupations are arranged in ascending order of social status as assessed by a separate study. The ascending direction of the diagram is clear, particularly the direct linear relationship in the case of females.

The product moment coefficient of correlation between occupation and satisfaction with both sexes considered together was .216, which with 1280 degrees of freedom was significant at the .01 level. Since, however, occupation was placed regularly along the continuum of social status, it could not be inferred that there is a causal relationship between these variables. It was established, however, that for one reason or another, what is locally known as the artisan class was very significantly

69A

MALES

FEMALES

SATISFACTION
and
OCCUPATION

G Sample

53.37

54.04

50.81

50.50

50.23

49.52

48.86

48.80

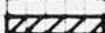
47.70

46.40

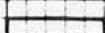
KEY:



NOT SIGNIFICANT



SIGNIFICANT at .01



" " " .05

SKILLED MANAGEMENT	SEMI-EMPLOYED PROFESSIONAL SENIOR	SKILLED	UNEMPLOYED
SEMI-EMPLOYED	MANAGEMENT	SENIOR	PROFESSIONAL
CRAFTSMAN	SERVICES	FARMERS	SECRETARIAL

OCCUPATION

DIAGRAM 6

less satisfied than any other occupational class, and that those engaged in management, large Company Direction, and most probably in farming, were very significantly more satisfied.

With occupation divided into housewives, skilled and semi-skilled, self-employed (non-professional), managerial and professional, and with identification divided into those who felt a) Rhodesian, b) British, c) South African, d) English, Irish, Welsh or Scottish, and e) other non-British nationalities(specified), a contingent relationship between occupation and identification was found significant at the .01 level. This gave a Tschuprow's T value of .09.

An examination of Table 3 shows a number of interesting facts which cannot be explained by disproportionate distribution of nationalities through the occupational categories.

1) The only occupational grade that included a disproportionately large number who identified themselves with Rhodesia was the self-employed (non-professional) class. This in spite of the approximate coincidence of their mean satisfaction score with the universal mean.

TABLE 3.

Independence values and observed frequencies showing relationship between occupation and felt nationality (G sample)

	Felt Nationality (Identification)				Others (specified)	TOTALS
	Rhodesian	British	South African	English/Irish Welsh/Scottish		
Housewife fo ft	175 183.24	198 210.57	50 40.16	42 39.05	29 20.92	494
Craft, Skilled semi-skilled fo ft	109 118.00	132 135.60	22 25.86	35 25.14	20 13.47	318
Self-employed (non-professional) fo ft	66 48.62	52 55.87	4 10.66	4 10.36	5 5.55	131
Management fo ft	216 222.92	293 256.17	37 48.66	41 47.50	14 25.45	601
Professional fo ft	91 84.23	80 96.92	31 18.46	18 17.95	7 9.61	227
TOTALS	657	755	144	140	75	1771

$$\chi^2 = 57.00$$

$$\text{Tschuprow's } T = .09$$

TABLE 4.

Proportion of occupational grades identifying
with Rhodesia. (G sample).

Self-employed (non-professional)	50.4%
Professional	40.1%
Management	35.4%
Housewives	35.4%
Crafts, skilled and semi-skilled	34.3%

2) Proportionate to the total numbers of both categories, the actual frequency of British-born immigrants in the managerial class coincided almost exactly with the independence value of that cell (f_o 326; f_t 334). In view of this, the discrepancy between observed and theoretical frequencies for this cell indicated that a greater proportion of British immigrants in the managerial class retained identification with Britain than among any other nationality in this occupational category, or within any other occupational class of British immigrant.

3) Although the actual and theoretical frequencies of professional S. African born almost coincides (f_o 67; f_t 64), the estimated frequency of this occupational group who continued to identify themselves with South Africa was almost doubled. Professional men and women born in South Africa identified themselves with their land of birth more frequently, and for a longer period than any other group.

4) Table 4 demonstrates the percentage of each occupational category identifying themselves with their new homeland. More members of the selfemployed and professional groups identified themselves with Rhodesia than with any other country, the

former having a majority over all other nationalities.

Arranged in order of percentage identification, table 5 shows the proportion of the same occupational classes discontented.

TABLE 5.

Discontent and Occupation. G sample.

Number of Discontents	Occupation	Discontents as percentage of total in that class.
4	Self-employed (non-professional)	3.9
45	Professional	18.7
106	Management and management aid	20.6
88	Housewives	17.1
59	Crafts, skilled and semi-skilled.	17.6

Thus, the self-employed remained consistent; as a class they were the most identified with Rhodesia, and the least discontented. Housewives seemed slightly less discontented than their satisfaction and identification levels might have suggested, a result probably due to the number of housewives who, although themselves preferring to return home, would not consider doing so without their husbands. Discontented wives married to comparatively contented husbands (using these terms in the sense indicated) would be under-represented in this analysis.

The high proportion among the managerial class wishing to return home was attributed in part to the high number of the discontented employed in junior management grades, such as clerks and junior civil servants. There was, nevertheless, a measure

of discontent among senior personnel as evidenced by the high proportion of discontents in the professions. One in five of the professional population wished to return home given the chance.

Country of Origin.

Diagram 7 shows the relative intake of population to S. Rhodesia from the two principal sources, South Africa and Britain. An implicit factor operating in these figures which accurately reflects the national situation has been the existence of a quota on the number of residence permits granted to intending migrants from South Africa, determined as a ratio of the British figure. Accordingly, the proportion of immigrants from these two areas has been in the approximate ratio of 3:2 in favour of Britain.

Nevertheless, on account of the larger proportion of immigrants arriving from South Africa before the last war, the total European population at the last census included 35.58% from Britain and 35.25% from South Africa.

Marked differences appeared when satisfaction was considered in relation to country of origin. Respondents born in Southern Rhodesia scored a mean almost three points above the universal mean, a result significant at the .01 level. Immigrants from Britain, on the other hand, scored very significantly lower than the overall mean, as did immigrants from Holland and the United States, although on account of the fewer numbers involved, these

Immigration by Country of Origin
and year of Arrival

G. Sample

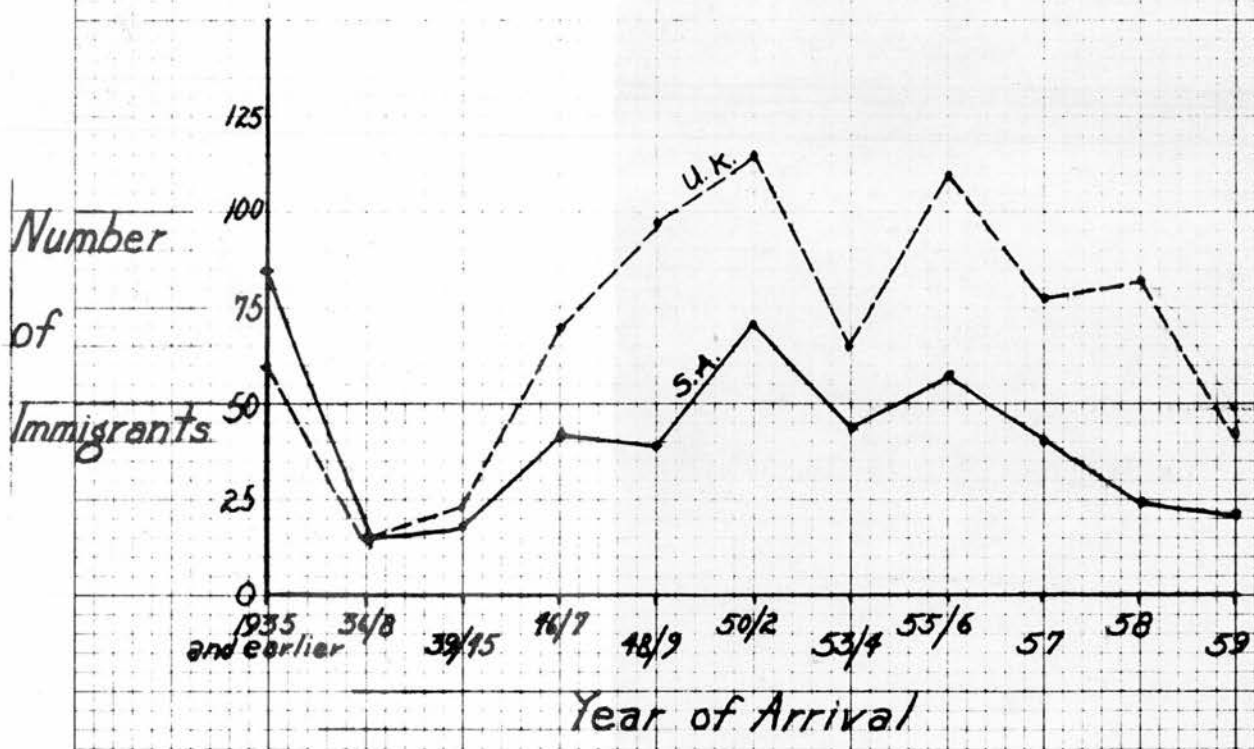


DIAGRAM 7

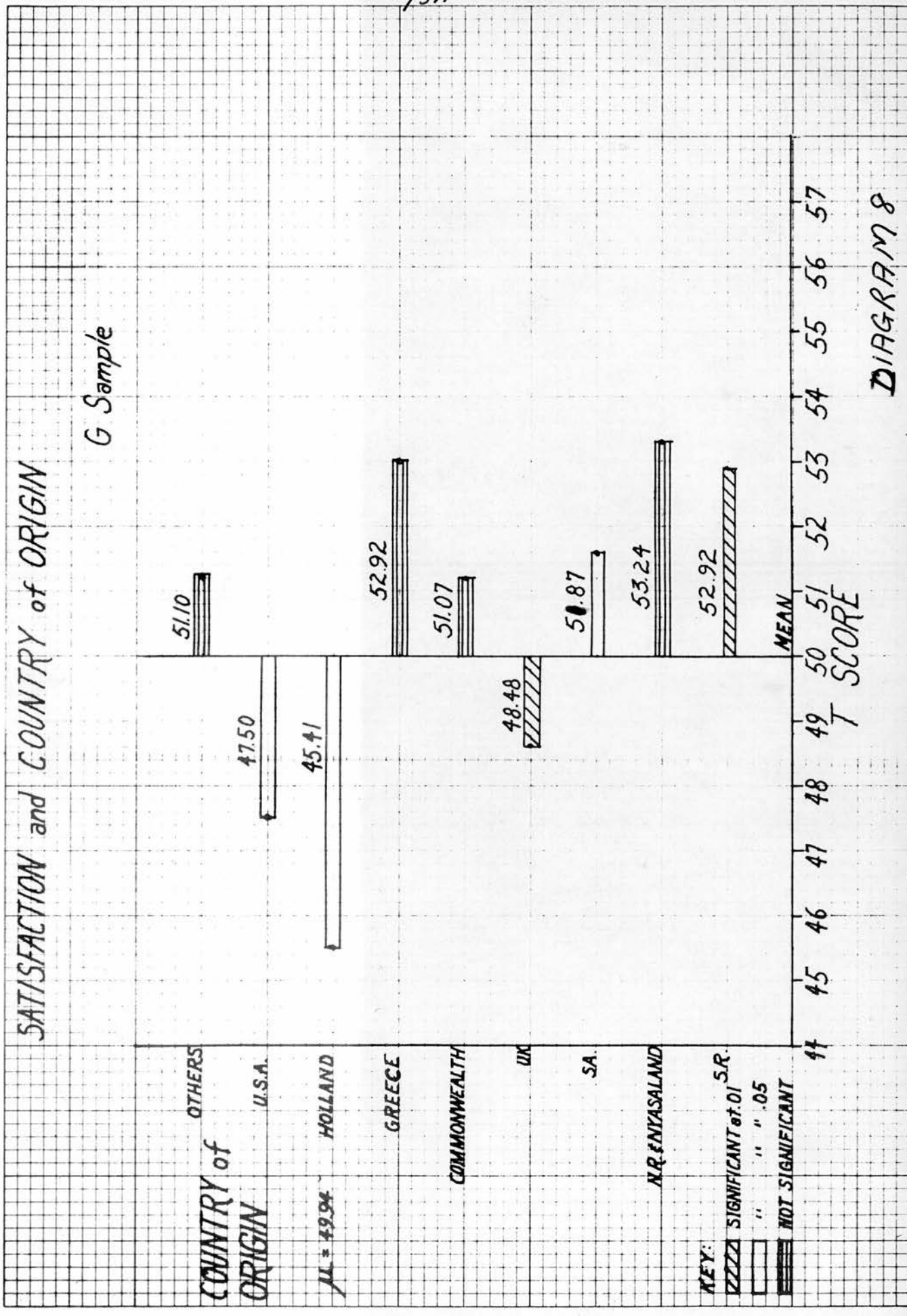
last two differences were significant only at the .05 level.

Although all other birthplace groups had a mean higher than *M* because of fewer cases, only the difference of the South African born immigrant group was significant. It cannot be assumed, however, that immigrants from South Africa were more easily satisfied, and perhaps assimilated more easily into Rhodesia, where conditions were certainly more similar to their own, than any other national group. It could have been, for example, that as their homeland is geographically adjacent, the dis-satisfied returned home more conveniently and more quickly thus leaving behind only the comparatively satisfied. That Rhodesian born residents should be the most satisfied group in their own country was to be expected; what still had to be explained was why the South African and British born groups differed so markedly and why Greeks appeared so satisfied when immigrants from Holland and the States seemed, as groups, comparatively dis-satisfied. Diagram 8 illustrates the results.

It should be noted that although the Greek mean was not significant, on account of a low N rather than a small variation, our subsequent study of the Greek community in Salisbury confirmed the almost universal satisfaction of this group with life in Rhodesia.

One probable explanation for these intra-national differences was the mean length of time each group had been resident in Rhodesia. The satisfied Greeks had a mean residential length of 16.1 years, whereas the corresponding figure for Dutch

75A



immigrants was only 4.1 years and for Americans 1.7 years.

With country of origin considered in relation to identification, a 3 x 3 table (British, Rhodesian, S.African) produced a highly significant chi-value, with Tschuprow's T = .28.

Table 6 shows the percentage from each of the main country of origin groups who identified themselves with Rhodesia. In this table countries of origin have been listed in descending order of the group's mean satisfaction score.

TABLE 6.

Country of origin, length of residence, satisfaction and identification. (G sample).

No.	Country of Origin.	Mean years of residence in S.R.	Mean satisfaction score (xx sig at .01) (x sig at .05)	%age identifying with Rhodesia.
21	N.Rhodesia/ Nyasaland	-	53.24	50.0
249	(S.Rhodesia	-	52.92 ^{xx}	53.2
12	(Greece	16.1	52.92	25.0
603	South Africa	10.3	50.87 ^x	43.2
30	Other Commonwealth countries	12.5	51.07	40.0
90	Others	10.6	51.10	30.0
937	United Kingdom	7.9	48.48 ^{xx}	31.7
10	U.S.A.	1.7	47.50 ^x	0.0 (all felt American)
27	Holland	4.1	45.41 ^x	28.6

The most interesting inferences from this table were the following:

- 1) That, for most groups, satisfaction increased with duration of residence.

2) That, for most groups, identification with Rhodesia became more frequent as duration of residence increased.

3) That immigrants from Greece, while scoring highly for satisfaction, and having a mean length of residence considerably longer than any other national group, nevertheless identified themselves less often than any other group except Americans. (A sociological explanation for this will be advanced in a separate report).

4) That all Americans in the sample continued to regard themselves as Americans, even one (a missionary) who had been resident in Rhodesia for over twenty-five years.

5) South African immigrants identified more readily than any other national groups.

6) Within the limit set by our definition, only 53.2% of those born in the country identified themselves with it. This was not unexpected since it seemed an expression of the absence of any clearly defined sentiment of nationhood among even born Rhodesians.

The proportion of the discontented from the three major immigrant national groups - Britain, South Africa and non-British countries (excluding Greece, of whom there were none) - was found to be as expected. The results are reproduced in Table 7.

* Although based on only 12 cases, this result was confirmed by our subsidiary study of the Greek community.

e With increasing political and social pressures, however, this may be expected to rapidly evolve.

TABLE 7.

Discontented and Country of Origin. (G sample)

Country of Origin.	Total	Discontented	Discontented as percentage
S.Africa	605	111	18.3
U.K.	936	244	26.1
Non-Commonwealth countries.	148	49	33.0

One in every four immigrants from Britain expressed the wish to return home, as did one in every three coming from non-Commonwealth countries.

The degree to which identification contra-indicated discontent is shown in Table 8. These variables are considered in relation to country of origin.

TABLE 8.

Country of origin, identification and discontent. (G sample).

Country of origin.	Discontented	Discontented who identified as Rhodesian.	Rhodesian identified as %age of total discontented.
S.A.	111	34	30.6
U.K.	244	3	1.2
Non-Commonwealth countries.	49	4	8.2

Although the negative relationship between discontent and identification was again demonstrated, the relatively high proportion of discontented South African immigrants who had nevertheless identified themselves with Rhodesia could be attributed to the similarity of the two countries. For many

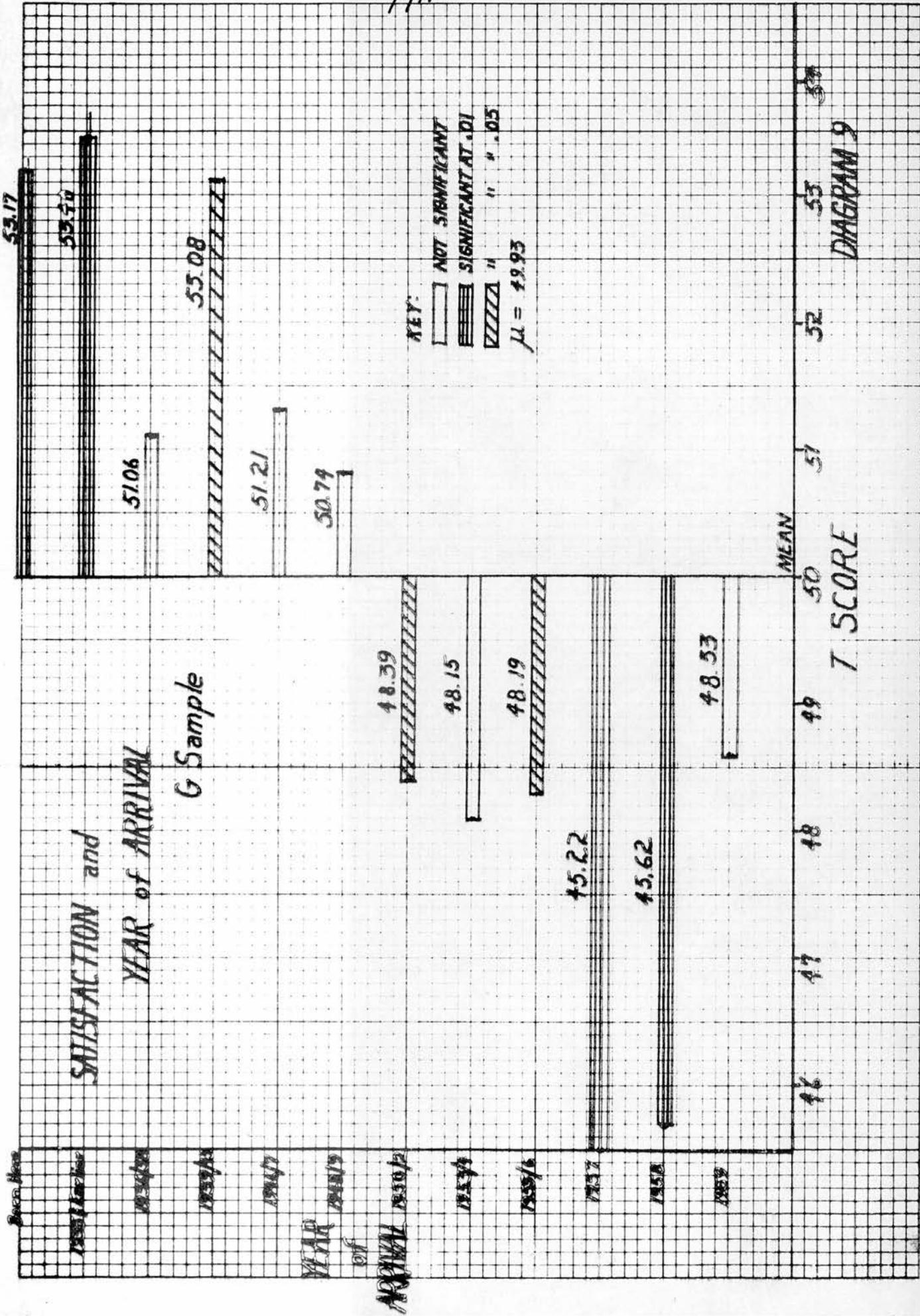
South Africans similar conditions and problems, shared loyalties to the Crown and a dislike of foreign intervention, served to merge the image of the two countries. Under these circumstances the transference of identification from South Africa to Rhodesia was not difficult. In some cases mere change of residence (immigration) was sufficient to accomplish it.

Year of Arrival (Length of Residence).

The product-moment correlation between length of residence and satisfaction was found to be .411. This achieved significance at the .01 level, as our study of case studies subsequently confirmed. Closer examination of the relationship revealed in diagram 9 indicates the pattern. The first and second full years were critical for satisfaction. There followed a dramatic increase of satisfaction after the second full year, which, although still below the general mean, remained constant for six years. After ten years the mean rose above the norm, becoming significantly higher for the group resident between fourteen and nineteen years, and very significantly higher for immigrants resident twenty-five years or more (equal in strength to the Rhodesian-born mean).

This suggested three well defined periods of comparative stability of satisfaction rather than a gradual process of change following an early crisis. The subsequent periods, and the reasons for them, will be considered in more detail.

Identification was significantly associated with length of



residence at the .01 level. When duration was trichotomized, giving three 4 x 4 tables, each produced a highly significant association. Tschuprow's T-values covering the three periods are reproduced in Table 9.

TABLE 9.

Tschuprow's T values for length of
Residence and Identification. (G sample).

	< 5 years	5/12 years	13 years and over.
Identification	.30	.12	.22

As expected, the closest relationship between residence and identification occurred at the two extremes.

Table 10, which records the percentage of discontented immigrants by year of arrival, shows that in this respect the pattern varies from that obtained for satisfaction and discontent. After the first full year, the proportion of immigrants who wished to leave remained steady until the pre-war group was reached, whereupon the incidence of discontent fell considerably.

It seemed that, although satisfaction tended to increase with time, this could not be explained by a siphoning off, by emigration, of the dis-satisfied, for the level of discontent remained constant. With increased length of residence, financial and other commitments tend to increase, while, with advancing age, roots deepen and opportunities elsewhere decrease. As duration in the country extends, these factors make emigration, materially and psychologically, more difficult.

Some immigrants, unable to assimilate, retain a measure of discontent which the passage of time seems never to diminish.

TABLE 10
Length of residence and Discontentness (C sample)

	Length of residence in years.										
	<1	1	2	3/4	5/6	7/9	10/11	12/13	14/20	21/23	24 and longer.
Percentage discontented.	15.1	28.5	23.3	22.4	22.0	24.4	25.6	20.9	13.5	0.00	1.5

Responses to the question "Of what nationality do you feel yourself?" were divided into four categories, i) Rhodesian, ii) British, iii) S. African, and iv) English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish. With 33 degrees of freedom, a chi-test for the relationship between identification and length of residence gave $\chi^2 = 262.61$, significant at the .01 level. The results were then analysed into three groups comprising i) those who had been resident in the country for less than 5 years, ii) those resident for between 5 and 13 years, and iii) those resident for longer than 13 years, including 254 who were born in the country. In each case the relationship satisfied the .01 level of significance. Table 11 gives the result of this analysis, together with Tschuprow's T value for each group.

TABLE 11.

Independence values and observed frequencies showing relationship between length of residence and felt nationality for those resident less than 5 years. (G sample)

Felt Nationality	Less than 1 year.	1 year	2 years	3/4 years	TOTAL
Rhodesian	8 (26.3)	17 (46.9)	20 (57.7)	57 (88.7)	102
British	32 (23.3)	60 (41.6)	66 (51.1)	86 (78.5)	244
S.African	13 (5.8)	17 (10.4)	28 (12.8)	29 (19.6)	87
Welsh, English Scottish or Irish	8 (5.6)	15 (10.1)	20 (12.4)	34 (19.2)	77
TOTAL	61	109	134	206	510

$$\chi^2 = 193.37^{xx} \quad T = .30$$

TABLE 12.

Independence values and observed frequencies
showing relationship between length of residence
and felt nationality for those resident between
5 and 13 years. (G sample).

Felt Nationality	Length of residence in years.				TOTAL
	5/6	7/9	10/11	12/13	
Rhodesian	48 (58.5)	116 (106.2)	79 (78.43)	79 (62.8)	322
British	46 (57.9)	94 (94.2)	70 (69.43)	54 (55.6)	264
S.African	23 (13.0)	21 (23.5)	15 (17.4)	9 (13.9)	68
English, Welsh, Scottish, Irish.	19 (12.6)	16 (23.1)	18 (17.0)	4 (13.7)	57
TOTAL	136	247	182	146	711

$$\chi^2 = 33.06^{xx} \quad T = .12$$

TABLE 13.

Independence values and observed frequencies
showing relationship between length of residence
and felt nationality for those resident longer
than 13 years. (G sample)

Felt Nationality	Length of residence in years.				TOTAL
	14/20	21/23	24 & over.	Born S.R.	
Rhodesian	34 (30.5)	39 (26.3)	117 (106.2)	131 (99.3)	321
British	32 (27.0)	17 (23.3)	107 (94.1)	96 (88.1)	252
S.African	5 (6.8)	2 (5.8)	3 (23.5)	0 (22.0)	10
English, Welsh, Scottish, Irish.	0 (6.7)	3 (5.6)	20 (23.2)	4 (21.6)	27
TOTAL	71	61	247	231	610

$$\chi^2 = 90.18^{xx} \quad T = .22$$

When foreign (non-British) nationalities were substituted for the fourth listed category in the above tables, and with the S. Rhodesian born altogether excluded, the overall $\chi^2 = 177.9$, significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 14

Identification and length of Residence ($f_o - f_t$) values. (C sample)

Felt Nationality	Length of residence in years.											
	<1	1	2	3/4	5/6	7/9	10/11	12/13	14/20	21/23	24 & ove	
Rhodesian	-12.73	-19.06	-24.63	-11.33	-1.88	+0.90	+0.01	+4.18	+0.40	+6.13	+ 1.10	
British	+ 3.25	+ 8.14	+ 4.34	+ 0.72	-0.67	-	-	-	+0.93	-1.70	+ 1.77	
S.African	+ 8.94	+ 4.19	+18.05	+ 4.51	+7.69	-0.27	-3.31	-1.73	-0.48	-2.49	-17.88	
English) Scottish) Welsh) Irish)	+ 1.03	+ 2.38	+ 4.66	+11.41	+3.25	-2.18	+0.06	-6.87	-6.70	-2.99	- 0.44	

Read in conjunction with one another, and with a significant Tschuprow's T value of .29 between country of origin and identification, these tables indicate a trend. The crucial nature of the first four year period is confirmed. After two years a watershed is reached. This is followed by a tendency for residents either to regard themselves as Rhodesian, or to leave. This critical time will be reflected in the tables that follow.

The newcomer who feels 'British' rather than English, or Scottish or Welsh, is likely to have a more generalised sentiment of nationality, one less grounded in a particular country. If this is confirmed, the British group would be expected to shed its original sentiment in favour of becoming Rhodesian more readily than those who, more specifically regard themselves as English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh. The findings illustrated in Table 14 supported this hypothesis. Whereas the frequency of those feeling British coincided with expected frequency after three years in the country, the latter group did not fall to the level of expectation until the group resident for seven years was reached. The greatest difference between the two occurred among those resident for 3/4 years. Whereas the 'British' showed a frequency equal to chance expectation, the 'English', 'Scottish', 'Irish' and 'Welsh' exceeded chance frequency by fifteen.

The pattern of those continuing to identify themselves as South African coincided approximately with the English group, although among those who had lived in the country for longer

than 24 years, a number considerably in excess of expectation had lost their sense of identification with South Africa.

The relationship between identification and satisfaction is clearly visible in Diagram 10. For the eight nationalities listed, and using a two-tailed test of significance, the variation of each group from the universal norm was significant at the .01 level. Those who regarded themselves as Rhodesians had a positive mean satisfaction score of 54.80, whereas those groups who continued to identify themselves with other nations had norms ranging from 48.12 (British) to 39.27 (Hollanders), the latter being the lowest norm recorded for any variable. These results clearly indicate the tendency for satisfied immigrants to identify themselves with the new country and for the less satisfied to retain their old sentiments of belonging.

This relationship between the two variables was carried further, for when identification was given a fourfold classification (Rhodesian, South African/Afrikaaner, British/English/Scottish, and non-Commonwealth), a very significant γ_{xy} value was obtained of .340. This result was probably closely associated, however, with the differences of satisfaction level obtaining in the various national groups, already noted.

Religion.

No significant relationship was established between religion, as defined by church membership, and length of residence. A

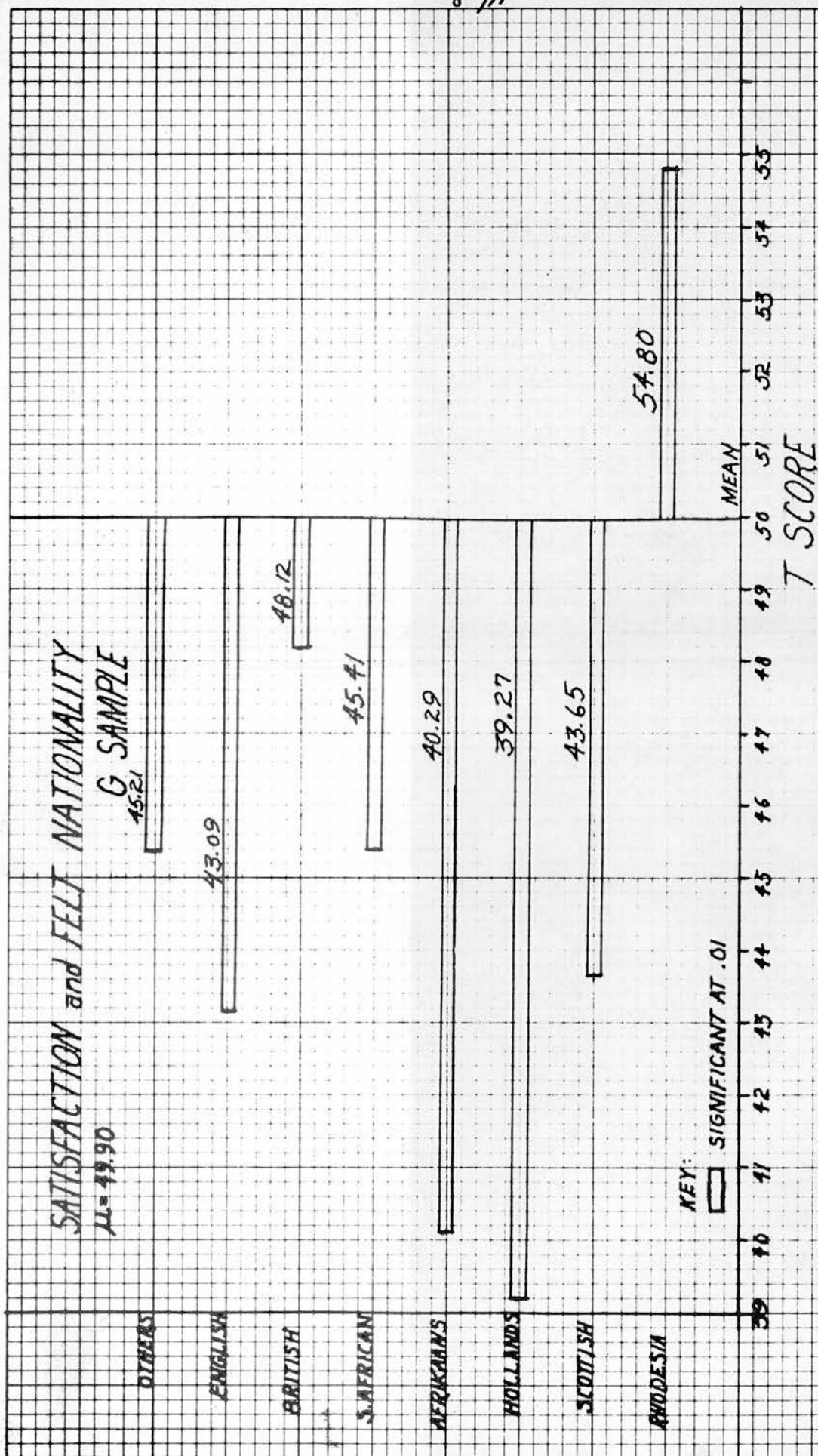


DIAGRAM 10

chi-test confirmed the null hypothesis.

With country of origin, however, a Tschuprow's T value of .165 was obtained, this being significant at the .01 level ($\chi^2 = 140.44$, df 16).

Table 15 illustrates the reason for this result which was largely, though not entirely, due to the presence of the Dutch Reformed Church.

A disproportionately large number of migrants from Britain were members of the Anglican Church, while from S.Africa a disproportionately large number belonged to one of the Free Churches.

TABLE 15.

Independence values and observed frequencies
showing relationship between country of
origin and church membership. (S group)

Country of Origin.	Church Membership.					TOTAL
	Anglican	Free Churches	Roman Catholic	Dutch Reformed	None specified	
S.Africa fo ft	164 193.84	142 110.45	42 46.47	35 20.05	26 38.20	409
U.K. fo ft	355 312.78	150 178.22	72 74.99	0 32.36	83 61.63	660
S.Rhodesia fo ft	68 72.96	45 41.57	17 17.49	22 7.55	2 14.58	154
Other Common- wealth fo ft	16 15.65	8 8.92	6 3.75	2 1.62	1 2.08	33
Foreign fo ft	6 13.76	2 7.84	9 3.30	4 1.42	8 2.71	29
TOTAL	609	347	146	63	120	1285

$$\chi^2 = 140.66 \text{ (with Yates correction for continuity)}$$

$$\text{Tschuprow's } T = .165$$

The product moment correlation (r_{xy}) between religion and satisfaction was .136, which with $df = 1497$, was significant at .01.

Considered more closely and using a two tailed test of significance ($\alpha_x = \frac{S}{\sqrt{N-1}}$), the degrees of significance of the

association between satisfaction and membership of each of the seven most popular churches is shown in Diagram 11. The mean for those who professed agnosticism or atheism is also recorded.

The following points of interest emerge:

1. In spite of the significant positive relationship between both South Africa and Rhodesia as places of birth and satisfaction with Rhodesia, members of the Dutch Reformed Church (87.7% of whom were born in one of these countries), had a mean satisfaction score of only 45.87. This was very significantly below the norm. This finding suggested the strong influence of the Dutch Reformed Church and led to a specific study, now being made, of its membership.

2. Those who positively professed no connection with any church had a mean satisfaction score that was significantly lower than the norm.

3. Membership of the Presbyterian and Anglican churches each had a mean which although only a little higher than μ was nevertheless significant.

4. The Hebrew group had the significantly high average satisfaction score of 53.02.

5. It was observed throughout the survey that the group of respondents who declined to give specific information often obtained a lower satisfaction score. Thus, in the case of

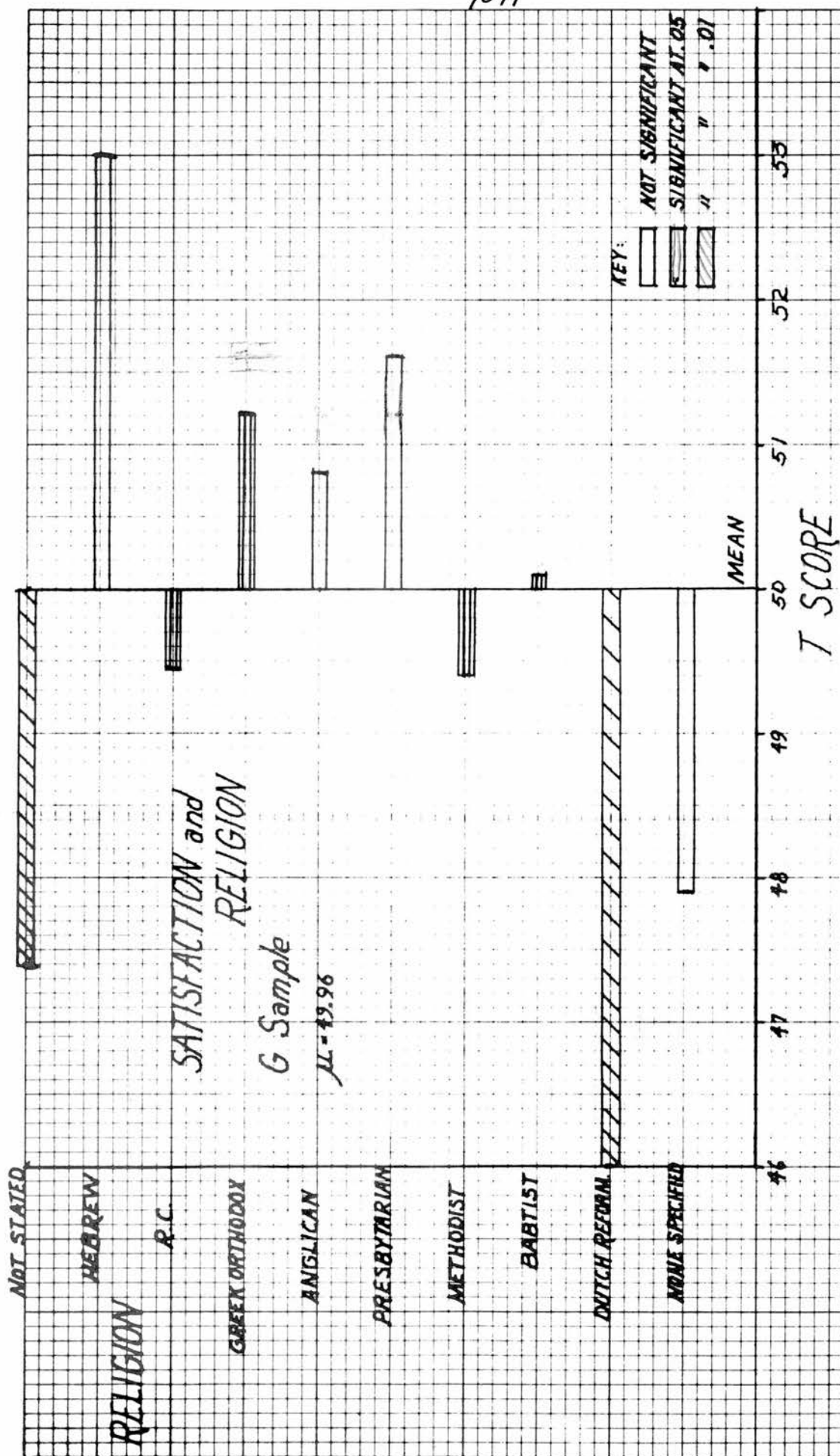


DIAGRAM II

religion, those who declined to state their church membership scored very significantly below the population mean.

Membership of a religious group was next considered in relation to identification. With a 5x5 chi-square comprising Rhodesian, British, S.African, English (Scottish, Irish or Welsh) and other non-British nationalities, and the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed, Nonconformist Churches, and the Atheist/Agnostic group, a chi-value of 207.39 was obtained, significant at the .01 level, with Tschuprow's T = 0.18.

The association between country of origin and religion was too close, especially in the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, to indicate the presence of a causal factor between identification and religion. Consideration of this chi-test in conjunction with the findings concerning the association between satisfaction and country of origin, did, however, point to a clear demarcation regarding immigrants from S. Africa. The satisfied seemed to belong almost entirely to one of the Free Churches (mainly Methodist and Presbyterian)^{*} whereas the dissatisfied belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.

In addition there was the suggestion that the apparent influence of the Dutch Reformed Church may have been a potent factor in the comparative lack of satisfaction of immigrants from Holland 19.05% of whom were members of that Church.

* Of all S.A. immigrants in the sample, 14.5% were Methodists and 13.4% Presbyterian.

Table 16 shows the proportion of each church membership that fulfilled the conditions of discontent.

TABLE 16.
Discontent and Church Membership.
(G sample.)

Church Membership (in order of mean satisfaction score)	Discontented	Discontented as percentage of total.
Hebrew	6	20.7
Presbyterian	37	18.3
Anglican	139	22.3
(Free churches excl. Presbyterian)	38	25.2
Roman Catholic	38	21.9
None (specified)	35	28.0
Dutch Reformed	15	23.1

Among all who professed membership of a church, 20.5% were discontented. Among those who rejected membership of a church, 28.0% were discontented. With the Rhodesian born excluded, the majority of whom were Anglicans, these figures become respectively 24.0% and 27.8%.

The Z-score obtained was 5.00 and was accordingly rejected.

Immigrants who do not belong to any church tend to be more discontented than those who are church members.

Income.

In view of the number of wives included in the sample and the frequent ambiguity of their response to this item, only male income was considered.

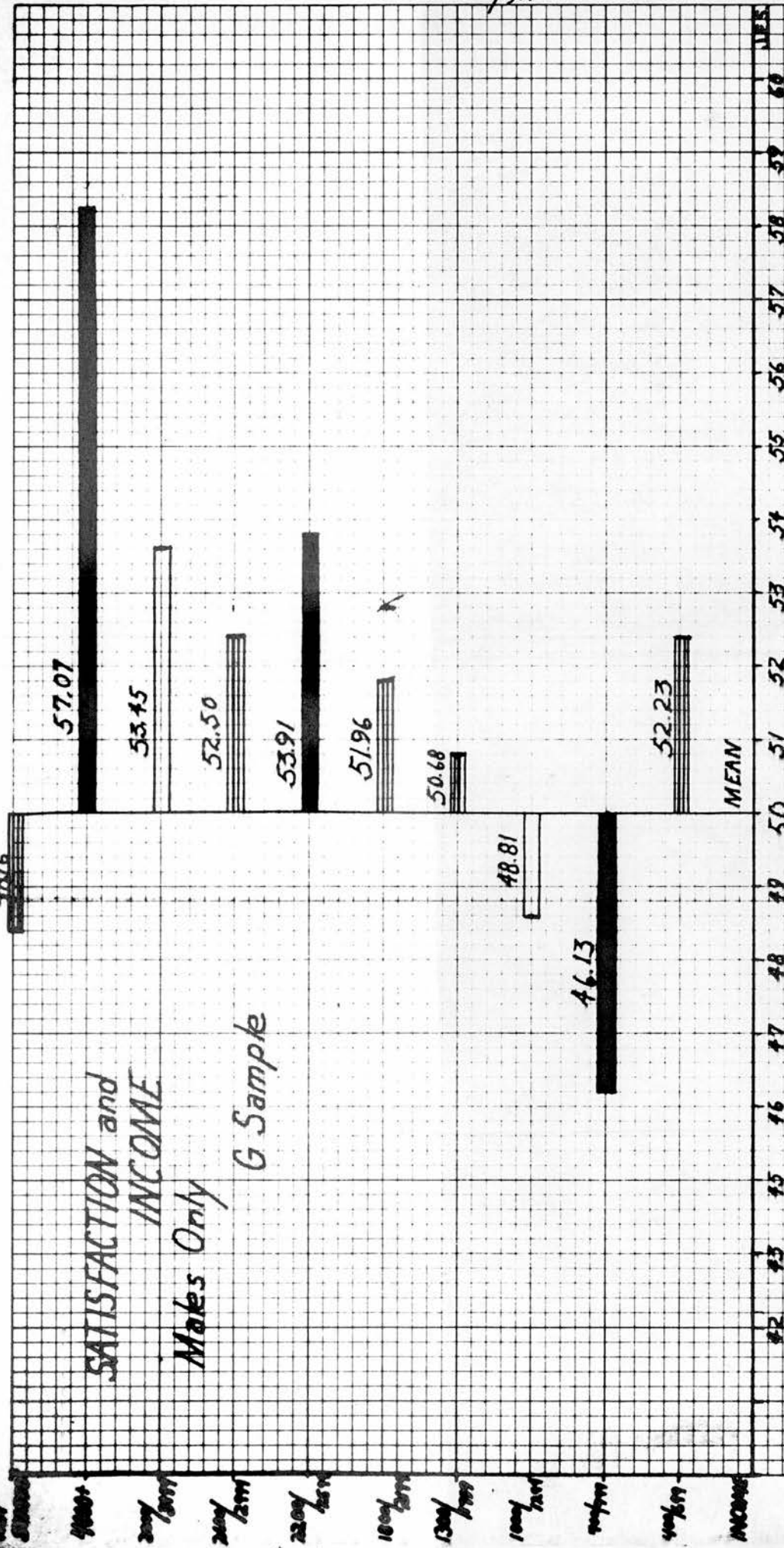
The product moment correlation between male income and length of residence in the G sample was .215. With each of these variables divided into six categories, a Tschuprow's T value of .12 was obtained. Both these measurements satisfied the .01 level of significance.

A closer study of this doubly confirmed association between length of residence and income showed it to have been mainly due to i) a low mean income among those resident for less than three years and ii) to a high mean income among those resident for longer than twenty years.

Between country of origin and income the null hypothesis was sustained with $df = 12$, $\chi^2 = 20.76$. There was therefore no measureable relationship between those two variables.

Diagram 12 illustrates the extent to which, for males, satisfaction increased as income rose. The product moment correlation between these variables was .148. This was highly significant.

Excluding the group whose income was less than £700 per annum, the composition of which was sufficiently varied to render its position on the scale meaningless, satisfaction steadily increased with income. Of all the variables considered in this chapter, the group with the highest mean satisfaction score was that earning over £4,000 per annum.



T SCORE

KEY:
 NOT SIGNIFICANT
 SIGNIFICANT AT .01
 " " " .05

DIAGRAM 12

No association was found between income and identification. Using the chi-test, with $df = 20$, $\chi^2 = 17.33$ (employing Yates correction for continuity). There was no tendency for those in the high income brackets to feel themselves Rhodesian.

In their respective association with income there is no connection between satisfaction and identification. The latter, it seems, may be a more subtle index of assimilation.

Although the relation between income and discontent is significant and therefore closer to that obtaining for satisfaction than for identification, it differs from both the other associations in important respects. While the second highest proportion of discontents was in the lowest income group, from £1300 to £3000 there is a steady increase in the relative amount of discontent. Thereafter, among those earning over £3000 annually, there is, by our definition at least, virtually no discontent. The highest proportion of all, 41.7%, occurred among those earning between £2600 and £2999 per annum.

TABLE 17.

Discontent and Income. (G sample)

Income (in £s)	Discontented	Discontented as percentage of total
4 - 999	59	40.4
10 - 1299	20	6.4
13 - 1799	38	16.1
18 - 2199	27	23.9
22 - 2599	15	27.3
26 - 2999	5	41.7
30 - 3999	-	-
4000 and over	1	3.4

Among all variables so far considered, income has been the most ambiguous. It has shown both the strongest and the weakest association with the three assimilation factors. It seemed positively connected with satisfaction, unevenly associated with discontent but not related to identification at all.

Number of Jobs.

Little of importance was to be gained by considering number of jobs either with length of residence or country of origin. The only interesting fact to emerge was that, of the 249 Rhodesian-born respondents answering the question, 53.0% had been employed in at least two jobs, and 13.2% had been in four or more.

With regard to satisfaction, as Diagram 13 shows, those males who had been in two jobs had a significantly high score while those in three or more had a significantly low score.

An analysis of this variable with identification and discontent was not considered, on account of the number of submerged variables likely to be involved.

Education.

In the Salisbury sample, with educational attainment separated into four classes (primary/secondary; school leaving certificate; post-school training college; and University or equivalent professional training), initial analysis, ^{with length of residence} produced a significant χ^2 of 52.22 (df 30). A further breakdown, however,

95A

SATISFACTION and NUMBER of JOBS Males Only

G Sample

T
SCORE

MEAN 50

KEY:

NOT SIGNIFICANT
SIGNIFICANT AT .05

$\mu = 50.14$

NONE ONE TWO THREE & OVER

NUMBER of JOBS

DIAGRAM 13

into three groups according to length of residence, showed a significant relationship only in respect of those resident in the country for less than five years. For this group Tschuprow's $T = .15$, which was significant at the .01 level. Application of the chi-test failed to reach the necessary level of significance for either of the other two groups.

The trend was for newcomers to be better educated than their compatriots. Among the 149 cases in the S sample holding a University or professional degree 64 (40%) had been resident in S. Rhodesia for less than five years.

Consideration of educational attainment by country of origin produced a result significant at the .01 level. With $df = 9$, $\chi^2 = 28.41$, Tschuprow's $T = .075$. From Table 18 it was observed that a disproportionately high number of graduates had come to the country from S.Africa and other Commonwealth countries. Whereas the South Africans tended to be divided at the poles, between the highly educated and the comparatively uneducated, the host population tended to be less highly educated than their migrant compatriots.

TABLE 18.

Independence values and observed frequencies sharing
relationship between country of origin, and educational
attainment. (S sample)

Country of origin.	EDUCATION				TOTAL
	Primary/ Secondary	School leaving	Training College	University (or equiv:)	
S.Africa f _o f _t	180 170.38	216 246.9	68 62.1	79 63.7	543
United Kingdom f _o f _t	199 203.0	317 294.6	68 74.1	64 76.0	648
S.Rhodesia f _o f _t	128 120.7	184 175.0	38 44.0	35 45.2	385
Non-common- wealth countries f _o f _t	22 34.8	50 50.6	19 12.7	20 13.0	111
TOTAL	529	767	193	198	1687

The product moment correlation of educational attainment
with satisfaction was .117.

Respondents who had not obtained a school leaving certifi-
cate had a mean satisfaction score very significantly lower than
 μ , whereas the opposite obtained for those who had such a
certificate and for those with some post-school training. But
since income and occupation were directly overlaid, the value of
this correlation awaited further assessment. For this reason,
education and identification were not compared.

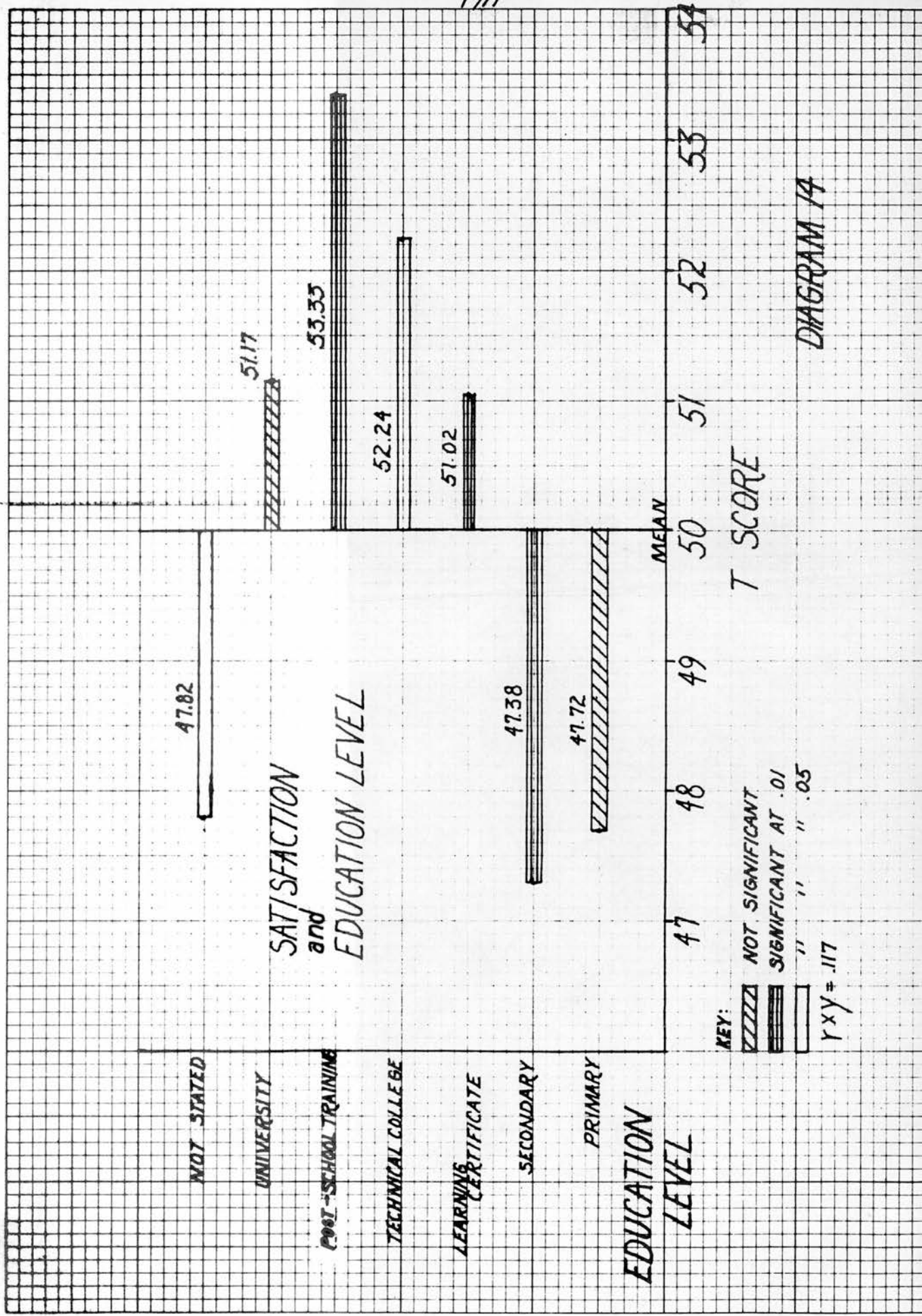


DIAGRAM 14

The discontented came in almost equal proportions from the four main educational groups, as shown in table 19.

TABLE 19

Discontent and Educational Attainment (G sample)

Educational	Discontented	Discontented as percentage of total group.
Primary/secondary	116	20.1
School leaving certificate	176	20.5
Post-school training	31	14.9
University (or equivalent)	49	22.9

No direct relationship is apparent between discontent and education.

Politics.

At the time the questionnaire was administered the three major parties fell conveniently along the race problem continuum. The Dominion Party (DP) sought to retain European control and colour discrimination, if necessary by force. The governing, United Federal Party (UFP), advocated a gradual metamorphosis towards a multi-racial society. The Central Africa Party (CAP) desired quicker and more drastic reform towards this end. To these three main parties was added a fourth response, the specific refusal to discriminate between the parties. All other responses were, for the purpose of this analysis, disregarded. A comparison was then made between these four groups of respondents and length of residence, the latter having been

divided into six groups.

For those resident in Rhodesia for less than fifteen years there was a significant relationship between length of stay and political opinion, $\chi^2 = 66.62$ (df a) with $T = .13$. This was largely due to the fact that newcomers showed no preference. Not until the class that had been resident six years was reached, did the frequency of the "none" response fall to the level of chance expectation. At the same time, fewer among the early arrivals than would have been expected on the null hypothesis supported the racially conservative Dominion Party.

The trend of political allegiance according to length of residence, significant overall at the .01 level, was an interesting one. In the case of immigrants there seemed to be a gradual shift from non-alignment at first towards the political centre. The left-wing (CAP) shared no dramatic change, apart from diminution of support, but the extreme right wing pro-European (DP) group attracted most of its support proportionately from immigrants who had been resident in the country between five and fifteen years.

TABLE 20.

Percentages supporting main political parties
according to length of residence (G sample)

Year of arrival	DP	UFP	CAP	NONE	Others, and not stated.	TOTAL
1959	12	24	3	18	43	100
1958	7	42	4	16	31	100
1957	18	37	3	11	31	100
1955/56	17	41	5	13	24	100
1953/4	22	45	2	9	22	100
1950/2	24	41	3	11	21	100
1948/9	23	46	3	8	20	100
1946/7	24	49	3	6	18	100
1939/45	16	62	3	7	12	100
1936/38	27	50	5	6	12	100
Pre 1936	16	59	2	5	18	100

$$\chi^2 = 66.62^{xx} \text{ df } 9. (\text{Tschuprow's } T = .13)$$

An examination of political allegiance according to country of origin, indicated that more SR born than would be expected on the null hypothesis support the right wing party, while comparatively few remained uncommitted. The relationship was significant at the .01 level, with Tschuprow's $T = .11$.

TABLE 21.

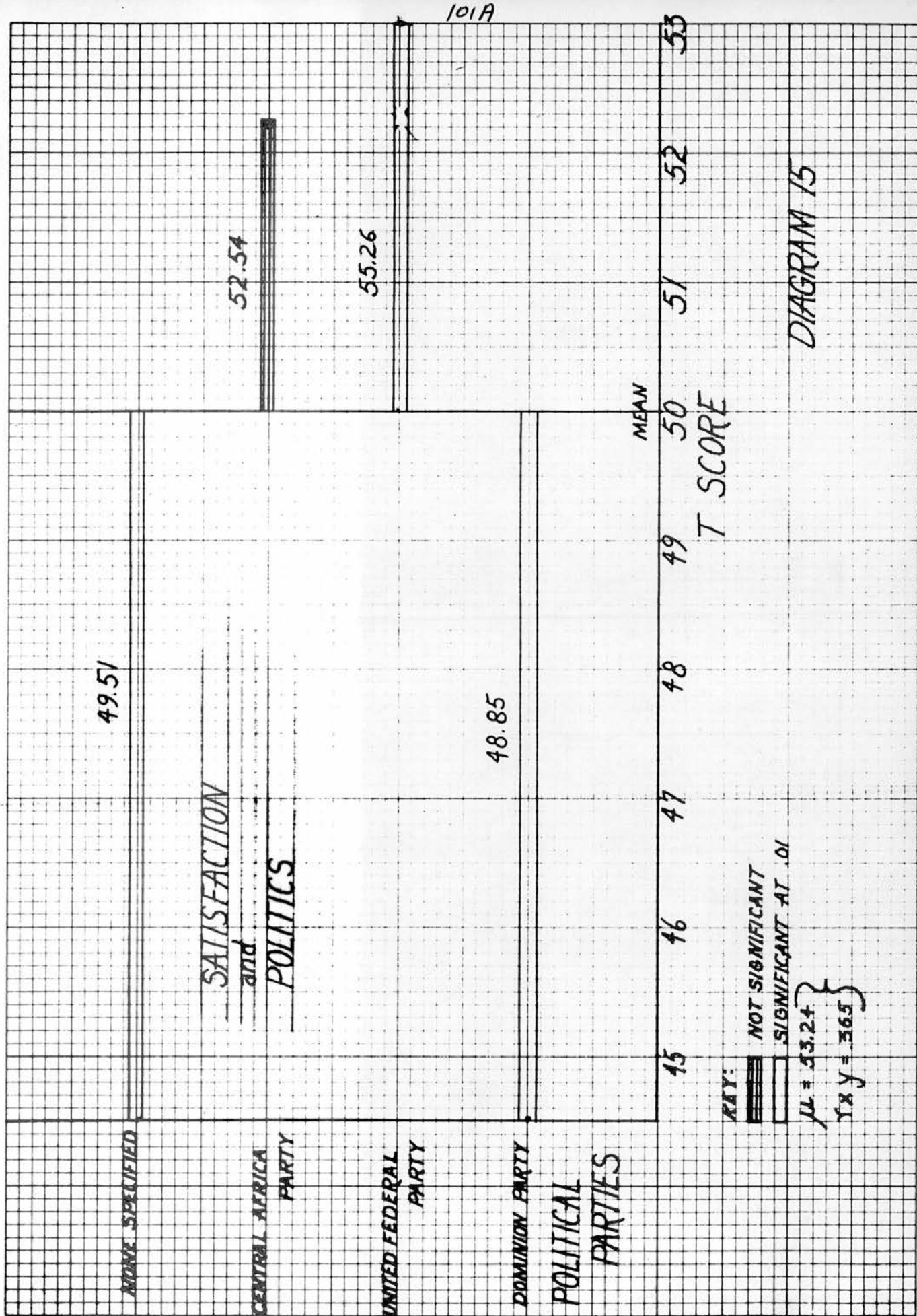
Independence values and observed frequencies showing
relationship between country of origin and political
preference. (S sample.)

Country of origin.	DP	UFP	CAP	None (specified)	Total.
S.A. f_o	134	204	9	37	384
f_t	106.9	216.8	14.6	45.6	
U.K. f_o	115	333	25	81	554
f_t	154.2	312.8	21.1	65.8	
S.R. f_o	59	82	6	6	153
f_t	42.6	86.4	5.8	18.2	
Continental, Europe and U.S.A. f_o	6	18	3	10	37
f_t	10.3	20.9	1.4	4.4	
TOTAL	314	637	43	134	1128

$$\chi^2 = 43.43 \quad \text{Tschuprow's } T = .113$$

SA-born immigrants tend to the political right whereas immigrants from the U.K. veer towards both the centre and non-alignment, away from the right.

The product moment correlation between satisfaction score and political allegiance, with the same fourfold classification of the latter, was .365. Using a two tailed test of significance for the individual group means, the Dominion Party and those with no allegiance each had a mean very significantly below the norm. The centrally placed United Federal Party had a mean score that was very significantly higher than μ , while the left wing C.A.P. approximated to the general mean.



Thus, it seemed that the satisfied tended to support the government party, while the less satisfied either supported the Dominion Party or no Party at all. The reforming Central African Party, whose $\sqrt{\chi^2}$ and coefficient of variation were both lower than for the other three groups, attracted members of about average satisfaction. In their case it seemed probable that other factors, such as income and intelligence, were more important.

Political opinion was significantly associated at the .01 level with identification. ($\chi^2 = 28.85$; df 6). This was principally due to 1) disproportionately few Rhodesian remaining non-aligned, 11) the high proportions of S.African supporting the Dominion Party.

So many among the discontented respondents declined to state their political preference that instead of a direct comparison between the respective proportions supporting each party who appeared discontented, the proportions of those whose preference was given, has been compared with the overall proportions between the parties (Table 22).

TABLE 22.Politics and Discontent. (G sample)

Political Party	Percentage of G sample (N) Col.1.	Percentage of discontents (N) Col.2.	Difference between Col. 1 and 2.
Dominion	20.5 (410)	16.7 (67)	+ 3.8
United Federal	45.6 (913)	33.1 (133)	+ 12.5
Central African	2.9 (58)	3.2	- 0.3
None(specified)	9.1 (182)	8.0 (32)	+ 1.1
Others (not stated)	21.9 (437)	39.0 (157)	- 17.1

As would be expected from our study of the mean satisfaction scores, members of the U.F.P. were less likely to feel discontented. There was a tendency for the discontented not to expose their political sympathies, a fact probably connected with the extreme political sensitivity of the social environment.

It will be recalled that among national groups, apart from the Greeks, whose mean was not however statistically significant, immigrants from South Africa appeared to be the most satisfied.

Yet among the supporters of the Dominion Party, whose mean satisfaction score was lowest of any party, 40.98% came from South Africa. Conversely, immigrants from Britain, 44.5% of whom supported the high-scoring U.F.P., had a mean group score very significantly below the universal norm. These facts suggested that satisfaction with Rhodesia was an important factor in determining political allegiance, at least in the cases of the two main parties.

The Pearsonian correlations for satisfaction and other variables whose relevance the above analysis had indicated, are shown in Table 23.

The first set included three independent variables with which, it was hypothesised, satisfaction had a causal (primary) relation and concerning which the three necessary assumptions for a Pearsonian correlation could be met.*

The second table sets out synoptically with some slight adjustment, the various Tschuprow's measures of contingency in respect of the discrete, demographic data, some of which has not been discussed previously in this chapter. These provided valuable background material when considering the social milieu in which the assimilation process operated.

Diagram 16 records the results.

TABLE 23.

Intercorrelations among four variables. (G sample)

	Length of Residence	Income	Occupation (status)
Satisfaction	.411	.190	.216
Length of residence		.215	.105
Income			.662

Each r_{xy} sig. at .01 level

* Divariate normal distribution, a straight-line relationship and homoscedasticity.

Contingency Correlations

GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

	DISTRICT	OCCUPANCY	LENGTH of RES.	RELIGION	EDUCATION
	AGE	COUNTRY of ORIGIN	IDENTIFICATION	INCOME	POLITICS
DISTRICT	* XX .154	X	XX .139	XX	XX .17
AGE	*		XX .10	XX .077	XX .089
OCCUPANCY		* Ho	XX .09	XX .087	XX .15
COUNTRY of ORIGIN		*	XX .25	XX .165	XX .13
LENGTH of RESIDENCE			* XX {.30 .12 .27	XX .12	XX .10 .152 Ho .25
IDENTIFICATION			*	XX .18	XX .06 (.10)
RELIGION				*	XX .114 (.11)
INCOME				*	XX .08 Ho
EDUCATION					* XX .168 .162

S SAMPLE

G SAMPLE ..

XX SIGNIFICANT AT .01

X SIGNIFICANT AT .05

Figures refer to TSCHUPROW'S T Value

NOTE: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BROKEN DOWN INTO FOUR GROUPS

DIAGRAM 16

Although it was possible neither to determine a coefficient of multiple correlation on account of the variations in the sample for each correlation, nor to embark on factorial analysis due to the basic discontinuity of the occupational category, ^{*} the above table indicates the degree of inter-relationship between each factor. Each correlation was significant at the .01 level.

It will be noted that the only comparison producing a different result from the two (S & G) samples was that between income and political preference. Whereas in Salisbury no significant result was obtained, the G sample established an association that satisfied the .05 level.

In addition to the factors noted in the text to be significantly associated (with varying degrees of qualification) to length of residence, country of origin, satisfaction, identification and discontent, the following findings were discussed.

* For purposes of extracting the above Pearsonian coefficient, occupation was somewhat artificially converted into a continuous variable.

1. That approximately one in four adults wish to return to their country of origin.
2. That only 53% of the white population identifies with S. Rhodesia.
3. That, as the population grows, the proportion born in Rhodesia increases inversely to the proportion born in Britain. Thus the percentage born in Britain grows smaller as the age-scale is descended.
4. That a rapid change in attitude level towards Rhodesia (and other images and values) takes place after two years. The critical period appears to fall during the first and second years. Again, after ten years of residence the satisfaction norm exceeds the national average.
5. That whereas those people who are dis-satisfied with Rhodesia tend to support right-wing political parties, the opposite does not hold true.
6. That satisfaction and identification do not necessarily follow in sequence, nor are they always associated with the same variables. Income, for example, is related to satisfaction but not to identification, whereas urban residential area and age are both more generally associated with identification.

7. The importance of cultural plurality was indicated by both the Greek and the Dutch Reformed Church responses. In the former case, members of the Greek community are, as an ethnic category, second in their degree of general satisfaction only to the locally-born, yet in their identification with Rhodesia they fall below all other groups, except only the Americans (most of whom were transient). In the case of the D.R.C., among all religious groups they showed the least satisfaction, having a mean score lower than that of any other category, excepting only immigrants from Holland, 19% of whom are Dutch Reformed Members, and those people who still regard themselves as Hollanders.

8. The occupational pattern, according to country of origin, shows that a disproportionately large number of born-Rhodesians fill junior and less skilled positions. Also that the number of South African immigrants tends to exceed chance expectation at both ends of the occupational continuum, having more among the unskilled and semi-skilled classes, and more among the professional, with correspondingly fewer among the middle-range, managerial and self-employed, categories.

CHAPTER IV .

The General Questionnaire (continued)

The next four sections of the questionnaire included forty statements of opinion with which respondents were asked to agree, disagree or maintain no opinion. They were selected after a pilot study had indicated their probable value in discriminating between subjects according to their period of residence in the country. These statements, several of which were similar to those used in Australia were divided for purposes of analysis, into four categories mainly concerned with i) Rhodesian life and customs, ii) political issues, iii) racial questions and iv) general opinions.

Norms for Rhodesian-born residents were obtained and significant differences observed between them, as well as variations according to length of residence, country of birth and satisfaction with Rhodesia. These will now be considered in turn.

The analysis of response to these opinions was undertaken in the following seven stages.

1) Test of significant contingent relationship, using chi-square tables for all lengths of residence, divided into eleven categories.

- a) Resident less than one year.
- b) " one year.
- c) " two years.
- d) " three/four years.
- e) " five/six years.
- f) " seven/nine years.
- g) " ten/eleven years.
- h) " twelve/thirteen years.
- i) " fourteen/twenty years.
- j) " twentyone/twentythree years.
- k) " twentyfour and more years.

ii) Test of significant contingent relationship, using chi-square and Tschuprow's T, for each of the following four groups.

- a) Those resident two years and less.
- b) " " between three and nine years.
- c) " " ten and twenty years.
- d) " " for twenty-one years and longer.

iii) Test of significant contingent relationship, using chi-square for length of residence, holding the following countries of origin constant:

- a) U.K.
- b) S.A.
- c) Foreign (i.e. non-British)

iv) Test of significant contingent relationship, using chi-square 2 x 2 tables and phi-coefficient for S.A.-born and U.K.-born.

v) As (iv) but including foreign-born and therefore without phi-values.

vi) Responses considered as proportions of 'agrees' and 'disagrees' according to whether subject (a) certainly would, and

(b) probably would leave Rhodesia if given the opportunity.

vii) In cases where there was a large discrepancy between the general proportions and the dichotomised proportions of the discontented responses, a one-tailed test of significance was applied. A similar test was administered when large differences occurred between proportions obtained from the vi_a) and vi_b) samples. When either of these tests was positive, the question was regarded as a sensitive discriminator for degree of discontent.

Rhodesian Life and Customs. (Questions 24, 25, 26, 27, 48, 49, 50, 53, 59, 62.)

Among the ten questions included under this heading, three numbers 26, 53 and 59, failed to discriminate under any of the three heads. The majority of all respondents agreed in proportions that remained unaffected by variables of length of residence, birthplace, or satisfaction:

- a) that credit terms should not be used as much as possible to make a house comfortable:
- b) that it is wrong for mothers of young children to go out to work:
- c) that it is not reasonably safe for children under twelve to ride bicycles by themselves.

The proportions holding these opinions were respectively 77%, 83% and 62%, with corresponding figures for born-Rhodesians of 74%, 85% and 58%.

Q.24 (The ordinary family has little chance of owning two cars) 81% of the total sample and 83.9% of born-Rhodesians agreed. This bears directly upon aspiration and the need, experienced by many families, in the absence of adequate public transport, for the wife to own a second car. Although there was no significant change in response according to length of residence, when responses were further broken down, a significant relationship was found among those resident between four and nine years, more of whom agreed with the proposition. This result, significant at the .01 level ($\chi^2 = 9.38$, df 2), was due almost entirely to atypical responses from the group who had arrived in the country during 1955 and 1956. As will be seen in much of our subsequent analysis, this appears to have been a critical period for the whole process of assimilation. Variation from the overall and S.R. norm did not otherwise vary according to length of residence. With birthplace as the intervening variable, there was a significance at the .05 level. Closer inspection, however, shows this to have been entirely due to a lower frequency of disagreement among the S.A.-born. When S.A.-born and U.K.-born responses were compared, there was a significant ϕ - coefficient of .083, suggesting that in this regard at least, migrants from South Africa tend to be more optimistic than their U.K.-born compatriots. The question failed to meet our criteria of sensitivity to degrees of satisfaction, the percentages of agreement among the dis-satisfied (i.e. those who would leave the country had they the opportunity) being only slightly more than the general norm.

Q.25 (S.African goods are seldom as good as those produced in the U.K.) This was agreed by 40.1% of the total sample and 27.8% of born Rhodesians. This question was found to be one of the most sensitive discriminators in the series. There was a tendency for the variation to increase progressively according to length of residence. Among the 74 respondents, for example, who had been in the country less than one year, exactly 50% agreed, whereas of the 261 who had been resident for longer than twentyfour years, only 28% agreed.

When country of origin was held constant, the overall significance remained, although neither the S.A.-born group (22.4% of whom surprisingly agreed) nor the F (foreign)-born group showed any significant variation along the time-continuum. U.K.-born immigrants, however, showed considerable susceptibility to change according to length of residence, particularly between the second and third years (76% and 68% agreed) and again, between the twelve/thirteen year residents, 72% of whom agreed, and the fourteen/twenty years group, 47% of whom agreed.

As would be expected, the phi-coefficient between S.A.-born and U.K. immigrants was highly significant, giving a value of .40.

The question was not a sensitive discriminator of satisfaction with Rhodesia, although 50% of those who stated that given the chance they would definitely leave the country agreed, compared to the overall proportion of 40%. The S.R.-born

percentage agreement was 31.7, a figure exceeded by immigrants
resident for longer than twenty years.*

Q.27 (Rhodesia is still a land of growing opportunity), agreed to by 81.3% of all respondents, and by 86.6% of those born in Rhodesia, produced interesting results. There was a large measure of disagreement occurring among immigrants who had arrived during the period 1950/52, and an almost equally large measure of agreement on the part of pre-1935 arrivals; these together were mainly responsible for a significant relationship at the .01 level.

No positive relationship was found between response and birthplace, although there was further evidence that the immigrants from S.A. tended to be more content than those from U.K.

The question clearly discriminated between the satisfied and the dis-satisfied. The S.R.-born percentage agreement was 90.9 and the overall agreement 81, but the percentage among the dis-satisfied who agreed was 65, falling off to 59 for those who said they would certainly leave. This difference was significant at the .01 level, giving a T-value of 4.18. Almost equally significant was the difference in the proportion of agreement between the definite leavers and probable leavers; here the T-value was 3.45, again significant at the .01 level.

* This 'intensification' of the SR-norm by long established residents is interesting. It will be discussed in later sections.

Q.48 (Salisbury is a dull place to live in), was agreed by 22.7% of the sample and by 16% of those born in Rhodesia.

While the indicated relationship between response and length of residence is significant, the position at which direction changes is equally important. The observed frequency of agreements with the proposition, exceeded estimated frequency up to the eleventh year. Thereafter it was the observed frequency of the disagreements that exceeded chance frequency. The sudden shift occurring between subjects resident for respectively ten/eleven years and twelve/thirteen years was also illustrated by the fact that whereas 24.1% of the former thought their place of residence dull, of the latter only 16.4% agreed.

With country of origin held constant, no significant variation was found among immigrants from S.Africa according to their period of stay. Among U.K. born immigrants, however, and immigrants born in non-British countries, a significant relationship was found satisfying the .01 level. The fact that changes in the urban environment come less unexpectedly to migrants from S.Africa probably accounts for the difference.

This question discriminated between the satisfied and the dis-satisfieds. In comparison with the general 23% agreement that their place of residence was dull, 43% of the dis-satisfieds agreed, a difference that produced a T value of 4.83.^{xx}

* This was amended where necessary to the respondent's place of residence.

Further, the difference between those who would certainly leave and those who said they would probably leave Rhodesia, was also significant at the .01 level ($T = 4.21$), 51% of the former agreeing with Q.48 against 27% of the latter.

A statistically valid relationship was also found between felt-nationality (identification) and the answer to this question. Considering only those who felt 'Rhodesian', 'British' and 'South African', Tschuprow's $T = .155^{xx}$. The interesting point here was that even the 'S.African' group showed a greater frequency of agreements than chance would have supposed. Thus, South Africans who agreed tended to feel themselves still S.African, whereas those who disagreed had come to regard themselves as Rhodesians. The question had siphoned away from the S.A.-identified group many of those S.A.-born migrants who disagreed.

Q.49 (African servants make family life more complete) was affirmed by 35.05% of the total sample and by 36.5% of born Rhodesians. This differentiated only slightly according to length of residence. A significant relationship at the .05 level was found between responses and a) those resident two years and less, and b) those resident for ten years and longer. Since, however, this was largely due to the high numbers having 'no opinion' in certain years, the question was of little value. Although opinions divided on the question, such that 35.05% agreed, neither length of residence in the country, nor country

of origin, appeared to carry much influence. Indeed, the proportion of agreement among those resident for less than one year was precisely the same as for respondents born in the country (36.5%).

Q.50 (It is pleasant to go for a picnic in the bush). Affirmed by 70.3% overall and by 93.3% of born Rhodesians. Response was found to be sensitive to time spent in the country. When period of residence was broken down into the four groups, significant results occurred in the first two and the last. At first immigrants seem uncertain (the number of 'no opinions' was disproportionately high), until they gradually come to agree. Among the Rhodesian-born, only 5.6% disagreed, whereas among those resident for less than three years, 23.1% disagreed; of original immigrants resident for longer than twentythree years, 11.5% disagreed. Thus sentiment towards the 'veldt' seems strongest among those born in the country, and the process of learning to enjoy it seems a gradual one.

Although, when country of origin was held constant, only the S.African-born responses showed a significant relation with length of residence, this can largely be discounted owing to the small numbers of S.A.-born who disagreed and the fact that in this analysis, 'no opinions', of whom the large majority were U.K. immigrants, were disregarded. Between the S.A.-born and the U.K.-born, ϕ -coefficient = .155^{XX}

This question failed to discriminate for satisfaction.

Q.62 (State schools are as good as private schools).
Although 65.9% of S.R.-born and 59.4% of the total sample agreed, variations were not significantly affected by any of the variables under discussion.

Political Questions. (Questions 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 40, 54, 57, 60.)

Only Q.57 failed completely to discriminate on any headings, a fact probably due to the very small percentage disagreement (3.35).

Q.28 (The Federation needs a much larger European population) Agreed by 89.60% overall and by 85.5% of born-Rhodesians. Responses failed at first to evince any relationship with period of residence. Immigrants from S.Africa tended to agree more than those born in U.K. ($\phi = .079^{xx}$) and, with S.R.-born and foreign-born immigrants included, $\chi^2 = 18.92^{xx}$ (df 3)

Q.29 (European Trade Unionism is unnecessary here). This opinion was shared by 46.5% born Rhodesians, by 46.4% of the total sample, and by 39.1% of those resident for less than three years.

Although the relationship between agreement and length of residence satisfied the .01 level of significance, closer examination reveals this to have been due more to such factors as selective migration and the withdrawal of competition consequent upon advancing age, than to the effects of lengthening

residence. Thus, although there is a general trend towards agreement, opinion was almost exactly equally divided among those who arrived in the country prior to 1936 - the same proportion as was found among residents of only one year's duration.

No significant association was found with either country of origin or satisfaction. Although the statement was agreed by only 38% of the definitely dis-satisfied, this failed narrowly to satisfy the necessary .05 level.

Q.30 (The vitality of Britain is being sapped by the Welfare State). This was affirmed by 46.95% of the sample, and by exactly 50% of the born-Rhodesians (30% of whom were undecided). Surprisingly, the three percentages for the first years of residence were respectively 32.4, 28.3 and 35.2. Thereafter for those resident three/four years, the figure rose to 47.1%, while for the longest established (first-generation) immigrants, the percentage was 61.7. Thus, we find the pattern of a dramatic shift in opinion occurring after three and four years' residence again repeated, with the old-established immigrant group more settled in opinion than the born-Rhodesian.

With country of origin held constant, only the U.K.-born showed significant change according to length of stay. Neither the opinions of the S.African-born (who differed significantly from the U.K.-born, $p = .264$) nor the foreign-born, demonstrated any direct relationship with year of arrival.

The question narrowly failed to discriminate for satisfaction.

Q.31 (Freedom and opportunity are better than security and social control). 65.1% of the sample and 62.7% of the born-Rhodesians agreed. A significant relationship was found along the time continuum, mainly due to a low proportion of agreement among those who had been in the country two years (50.7%) and a high proportion among those arriving prior to 1936 (74.7%). Again, the critical period occurs somewhere between the second and fourth year. It is as if after two years the dis-satisfied tend either to emigrate or to become more satisfied.

No significant difference of response occurred due to country of origin.

Identification was found to be associated with agreement, Tschuprow's $T = .07^{xx}$. In particular, people who felt themselves Rhodesian tended to agree disproportionately often.

The question was sensitive to satisfaction. Only 55% of the dis-satisfieds agreed, producing a t-value of 2.09^{xx} .

Q.32 (The future prosperity of Rhodesia largely depends on African labour). 48.45% of the total sample and 47.05% of born-Rhodesians agreed.

Although a contingent relationship was found between response to this question and length of residence, little influence seems

to have been played by this factor during the early years. The significance for the first group (those resident less than three years) is largely explained by the excessive number of 'no opinions'. It is only when the twelve/thirteen year residents were considered that a clear trend was found towards disagreement. Most interestingly, this tendency dramatically changed direction for the pre-1936 immigrants, who again echoed a more extreme version of the born-Rhodesian pattern. Thus, whereas a minority (47.4%) of immigrants resident between fourteen and twentythree years agreed with the proposition, a majority (59.2%) of pre-1936 arrivals agreed.

Although there was no general significant relationship with birthplace, there was a suggestion of disproportionately high agreement among foreign-born immigrants. With this class included, chi-square was significant at the lower level.

The question was sensitive neither to differences of identification nor to satisfaction.

Q.37 (The advancement of Africans is taking place too rapidly) was affirmed by 71.65% of the total sample and 78.0% of the born-Rhodesians.

There emerges a similar pattern of rapid change occurring during the first two years, followed by a prolonged period when opinion is gradually consolidated. Thus, among immigrants resident in the country less than one year, a minority (43.8%)

agreed, (only 9.45% held no opinion), whereas of those resident three/four years, a majority (69.0%) agreed. In this regard, the Rhodesian norm seems to be reached after about 3 years residence in the country, and was not exceeded by any other group.

When country of origin was held constant, both the S.A.-born and the U.K.-born immigrant groups showed a significantly greater measure of agreement as length of stay increased; this trend was not however confirmed by the foreign-born group, proportionately more of whom disagreed. The difference between the S.A.-born and the U.K.-born produced a significant ϕ score of .105, more agreement being found among the former.

The question failed to discriminate for either identification or satisfaction, although in the former case several minority nationalities (eg Afrikaaner, Greek) did produce disproportionately dichotomised replies. But, although, for example, only 18% of Afrikaans-identified agreed with the question, compared with the 71% who still felt Greek, the numbers in both cases were too small to be significant for a single question.

Q.40 (The vote is a right which all the people of a country should share equally). 22.75% of the total sample and 17.2% of born-Rhodesians agreed. The relationship with length of residence was significant at the .01 level, although further analysis showed that this was principally due to a shift occurring during the first four years. The change from disproportionately high

agreement to expected frequencies took place between the two year group and the three/four year group.

There was no difference of response between the S.A.-born and U.K.-born immigrants, although with the introduction of foreign-born immigrants, who tended towards disproportionately high agreement, the level of significance satisfied the .05 level.

The question was not relevant to satisfaction.

Q.54 (The Churches should take part in politics). Although thought to be an important issue in S.Rhodesia where missionary and other church activity permeates most political discussion, only 6.95% of respondents agreed with the proposition, and 5.9% of born-Rhodesians.

The frequency of agreement fell steadily from 14.9% (resident less than one year) to 3.9% (resident seven/nine years). Although failing to produce a significant chi-square on account of the low measure of agreement, the relationship over the first two years, did reach the .05 level of significance.

The question was not otherwise discriminating.

Q.60 (Britain's greatest contribution to the Commonwealth is the Monarch). 50.55% of the sample and 55.3% of born-Rhodesians, agreed.

Although a significant association was found with period of

residence, further breakdown showed this again to have been due to a low measure of agreement during the first two years. Apart from a disproportionately low measure of agreement among those resident between seven and nine years, frequencies remained constant until the pre-1936 group. Compared to the 55.3% of born-Rhodesians, 68.2% of the pre-1936 group agreed, thus once again exceeding the Rhodesians in group attitude solidity.

No connection was found with country of origin, nor with identification or satisfaction.

Race Relations. (Questions 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 58, 63.)

Responses to eight of the ten questions in this section showed a relationship with duration of residence significant at the .01 level, while responses to the remaining two satisfied the .05 level. As, however, none discriminated for satisfaction, this variable will not be considered.

Q.34. (On no account should Africans be allowed in the best hotels). 51.3% of the total sample and 56.5% of born-Rhodesians agreed.

The percentage who agreed, steadily increased from those resident less than one year (33.8%) to those resident for between ten and eleven years (56.3%). Thereafter it fell slightly away

until the pre-1936 immigrants, whose percentage was almost identical to the S.R.-born, 56.6%. Thus, upon breakdown into four groups, the relationship remained significant at the two extremes. A significant difference was found between responses from born S.Africans and U.K.-born immigrants ($\phi = .113$), and when length of residence was considered, with country of origin held constant, a significant association between response and time remained true in respect of immigrants from these countries. Immigrants born in foreign countries showed a relationship at the .05 level, although in this case (unlike S.A.- and U.K.-born migrants) the majority did not agree. Whereas 66.5% born S.Africans and 55.1% U.K.-born agreed, the corresponding figure for foreign-born immigrants was 40.4%. Converted into a contingency table, with born-Rhodesians included, these differences were significant at the .01 level ($\chi^2 = 32.57$, df 3).

When identification was divided into seven categories, $\chi^2 = 77.86^{xx}$, df 12. The sharpest variation from expected frequency occurred among the sixtythree respondents whose felt nationality was something other than Rhodesian, namely S.African, British, English, Scottish, Irish or Afrikaans, of whom 27.0% only agreed with the statement.

Q.35 (African women generally look after European children well). 13.6% of the general sample and 14.5% of born-Rhodesians agreed. The general trend was a reduction in the rate of

agreement from 27.0%, for those resident less than a year, to 8.5% for those resident seven/nine years. The rate of agreement thereafter rose to 21.2% (twentyone/twentythree years) before approximating to the average.

No variations were observed between the S.A. and U.K. immigrants, although with the introduction of foreign-born immigrants, a significant result was obtained owing to the disproportionately high measure of agreement (32.2%).

Q.36 (The wages of African domestic servants are too low). This was agreed by 31.75% of the total sample and 28.2% of born-Rhodesians.

The significance of length of residence as a determining factor was due mainly to changes of opinion apparently occurring over the first three years. Among those resident for less than one year, 46.0% agreed, among those resident for two years this corresponding figure was 38.4%. But of immigrants who had lived in the country three/four years the percentage was 26.4. The category with the lowest proportion of agreement was the ten/eleven year group, of whom only 25.7% agreed.

Again no difference was observed between the S.A.- and U.K.-born groups, although inclusion of the foreign-born produced a result significant at the .05 level, due to a disproportionately large frequency of 'agrees'.

Q.38 (All jobs should be equally available to Africans and

Europeans of the same skill). This was agreed by 61.35% of the total sample, and 58.4% of the born-Rhodesians.

The only contingent relationship with duration of stay was observed among the first of the four sub-groups, comprising residents of two years and less. Thereafter the rate of agreements appeared unrelated to period of residence.

Immigrants born in U.K. tended to agree more frequently than those born in S.A. ($\phi = .139$) but S.R.-born frequencies coincided approximately with expectation. When length of residence is considered with country of origin held constant, the U.K. group show a relationship significant at the .01 level ($\chi^2 = 14.09$ df 4), whereas the S.A.- and foreign-born groups gave a result significant at the .05 level. Although the direction of change is the same, in the case of the S.A. group departure from expected frequency remained about equal throughout the range, whereas in the foreign group it was more apparent during the first two years, and, in the case of the U.K. immigrants, it was most noticeable among the residents of longer standing. This suggested either that the influences were different or that they were more potent at different times.

The relationship between agreement and identification satisfied the .01 test, giving a Tschuprow's T value of .08. This was mainly due to a disproportionately low number of agreements among those who felt themselves 'South African'. Both the 'Rhodesians' and the 'British' observed frequencies

broadly coincided with the corresponding theoretical values, the proportion of affirmatives among them being more alike than between them and the S.A. -identified.

Q.39 (Africans are individually inferior to Europeans).

This was agreed by 73.15% of the total sample and 74.9% of born-Rhodesians. A significant relationship was found with length of residence which, when further analysed, held at both extremes.

The percentage agreements among immigrants of less than one year's standing, of two year's standing, and of three/four years, were respectively 55.4, 60.95, and 74.9. Thereafter the percentage remained within six points of the last figure, until the pre-1936 immigrants, of whom 81.6% agreed. Thus the most common pattern of attitude shift recurred.

With the exception of the foreign-born, who tended to agree disproportionately less often, country of origin appeared to play no direct part in this question. Thus, contrary to many other responses, the foreign-born group were closer to the Rhodesian-born average than either their S.African or U.K. counterparts.

Q.41 (It is sometimes enjoyable to entertain an African in one's home). Only 10.6% of the total sample agreed, and 3.9% of born-Rhodesians, yet among immigrants resident in the country less than three years, 22.3% agreed. The percentage among the three/four year group fell characteristically to 14.1, a proportion which remained approximately the same for all other

immigrants.

U.K.- and S.A.-born differed considerably ($p = .219$) with the former showing more frequent agreement. With S.R.- and foreign-born immigrants included, the relationship remained significant, with the latter tending to conform more closely to the U.K. proportion.

When length of residence was considered with country of origin held constant, the U.K.- and foreign-born groups showed significant results at the .01 level, but the S.A. group results confirm the null hypothesis.

Q.42 (It is right that European and African housing areas should be kept separate). This was agreed by 91.95% of the total sample and 94.1% of the born-Rhodesians.

The only measureable effect of length of stay occurred up to the second year when the overall percentage agreement was 83.8%. The percentage for all groups remained steady from five years residency upwards.

The measure of agreement concerning this question was so uniform that only the foreign-born immigrant group varied significantly from the remainder, a lower proportion agreeing (85.2%).

Q.43 (It takes more than education to make an African civilised). Again, the percentage of agreement was high, both for the total sample (92.4) and the born-Rhodesians (96.5). Nevertheless, there was an overall significant association with

time spent in Rhodesia, although this was shown to be almost entirely due to apparent changes occurring during the first four years. The pattern of response to the previous question was repeated, with the first two years evincing less agreement and the overall proportion being reached by immigrants arriving in 1954 and earlier.

In this case, however, a difference between the S.A.-born and U.K.-born responses was found significant at the .05 level. The foreign-born group showed no variation from arithmetic expectation. The S.A.-born group tended to agree slightly more than other immigrants.

Q.58. (European children and African children should be educated together). Only 10.0% of the general sample assented, and only 5.9% of born-Rhodesians.

In spite of the small variation in response, Table 24 illustrated how this question showed itself sensitive to the time factor at all levels.

TABLE 24

Percentage Agreement by length of residence that
European children and African children should
be educated together' (G sample)

Length of residence in S.R. in years.	%age agree	%age No opinion	N
Less than a year	39.2	4.05	74
One	20.0	5.8	130
Two	19.2	4.1	146
Three/Four	8.3	2.6	228
Five/six	8.7	8.0	150
Seven/nine	5.8	3.1	258
Ten/eleven	5.0	2.5	199
Twelve/thirteen	5.9	5.9	152
Fourteen/twenty	12.3	4.1	73
Twentyone/twentythree	12.1	7.6	66
Twentyfour and more	7.3	6.3	261
Born in S.R.	5.9	3.5	255
Overall	10.0 ^x	4.45	2000 ^x
^x This figure includes 8 whose date of arrival was not stated.			

When the sample was broken down into four groups, the first two showed a significant relationship between response and length of residence at the .01 level, while the third and fourth satisfied the .05 level.

The relationship among residents of less than three years standing, gave a Tschuprow's T value of .37. One possible reason for the increased measure of agreement among the older immigrants was that, no longer having school-age children of their own, their opinions were less immediately subjective. The fact that the pre-1936 group nevertheless fell below the

overall percentage, approximating to that among born-Rhodesians, accorded with this group's comparative pattern of response to other questions.

The difference between S.A. and U.K. immigrants was significant at the .01 level. With country of origin held constant, the S.A. group showed no overall significant association with duration, although there was a suggestion of a relationship (sig. at the .05 level) among those resident in Rhodesia less than ten years. The U.K.-born group, on the other hand, showed a clearly significant relationship throughout the residential span.

Q.63 (It is good for children to give order to African servants). For this question agreement remained small, 10.65% of the total sample, but increased with duration of residence. Thus of born-Rhodesians, 17.6% agreed, but of those resident one year or less, only 5.4% approved. The level of 'no opinions' remained constant around 6%.

Although responses indicated an overall association, the most significant satisfying the .01 level, was found among the older-established immigrants resident for ten years and longer. The born-Rhodesian percentage was approached only by immigrants resident for at least fourteen years.

Country of origin was not found to be a factor, and no valid difference was found between the S.A. and U.K. groups.

General opinions. (Questions 33, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 55, 56, and 61).

Questions 33, 52, 55 and 56 were not affected by length of residence, but as these showed varying degrees of association according to country of origin, each will be considered in turn.

Question 33 (After health, money is the most important part of happiness). Although intended to illustrate a possible tendency towards a materialistic outlook, and although opinions in the total sample were almost equally divided (50-45), responses to this question produced only negative results when considered in relation to residence, birthplace, identification and satisfaction. The only two points of interest were (a) a significantly low proportion of agreement among foreign-born immigrants (43.1%) and (b) a significant t-value (2.24) discriminating between the definite returners and the possible returners. In the latter case, 57% of the definite returners agreed, compared with 44% of the doubtfuls. This suggested the presence of serious financial discontent among those who said they would certainly return home, given the chance. There was also a significant difference between the left-wing (Central Africa Party) and the right-wing (Dominion Party), the latter showing more frequent agreement.

Question 44 (British people make friends too slowly). 39.45% of the total sample agreed, as did 37.25% of born-Rhodesians.

Proportions according to length of stay produced a

U - shaped curve, 44.6% of the most recent arrivals agreeing, a figure about equal to the pre-1936 group (44.1%) whereas in the middle range, of those resident twelve and thirteen years, only 32.2% agreed. The oldest-established immigrants agreed slightly more frequently than the born-Rhodesians. Although significant overall, this was partly due to a variation in the frequency of 'no opinions', low at one extreme and high at the other. It seemed that newcomers, although tending to agree at first, disagreed more frequently after living in Rhodesia two and three years. (41.7% agreement among immigrants resident less than two years, 30.8% among those resident two years).

Although foreign-born immigrants agreed with disproportionate frequency, significant at the .01 level, no valid difference was observed between the U.K. and S.A. groups.

There was evidence of a connection between agreement and identification. When 'Rhodesians' were compared with all other felt nationalities, $\phi = .03^{XX}$

Although, in common with all questions in this section, Q.44 failed to discriminate between the satisfied and dissatisfied, it did reflect a significant difference between the definite and doubtful leavers, the respective percentage agreements being 45 and 32, giving a t-value of 2.28^{XX}

Q.45 (It is better to leave guests to help themselves to drinks). 21.8% of the total sample agreed and 19.6% of born-Rhodesians. The proportion of agreement tended to increase as length of residence increased. Among newly arrived immigrants, 13.5% agreed, but among the pre-1936 group, 34.9% agreed. An interesting point here was that although the relationship between response and length of residence was significant for the two groups, (a) those resident between three and nine years, and (b) those resident for longer than twenty-four years, the frequency among born-Rhodesians corresponded more closely to that for immigrants of one and two year's standing.

Country of origin was found not to be relevant.

Q.46 (It is preferable to do one's own housework). 52.25% agreed among the total sample and 54.5% born-Rhodesians.

The only dramatic jump occurred between the groups resident less than one year (35.1%) and those resident one year (55.4%). Thereafter the proportions remained approximately unchanged, giving a significant chi-square only for those resident less than two years (Tschuprow's $T = .18^{xx}$). A significant result in respect of the third group ($T = .11$)^x can be discounted as being due to a disproportionate reduction in the frequency of 'no opinions'.

Although no variation was observed from the null hypothesis in the case of the U.K. and S.A. groups, the foreign-born showed a significantly higher proportion of agreement (66.7%)^x.

Q.47 (Holidays are more fun spent in a crowd). 35.9% of the total sample agreed and 47.8% of born-Rhodesians. Excluding variations in the number of no opinions, the only significant difference occurred among the born-Rhodesians, who tended to agree more often than any single immigrant group (when classified by length of residence).

Country of origin was found to have a significance satisfying the .01 level in the case of the S.A.- and Rhodesian-born, who both tended to agree disproportionately often, and the U.K.-born, of whom only 32.4% concurred. However, frequency of agreement among the foreign-born showed no variation from expectation.

Owing mainly to the disproportionately high frequency of agreement among those identifying themselves as South Africans, there was a significant relationship between response and identification. Yet, interestingly, the 'Rhodesians' did not vary from their expected proportion. For this question, at least, it seemed that agreement was irrelevant to the process of identifying oneself as a Rhodesian. This was one of the few questions for which the extent of agreement or disagreement among born-Rhodesians exceeded that for every other immigrant group.

Q.51 (Soccer is the most interesting sport to watch). 15.4% agreed among the total sample, and 9.0% of born-Rhodesians. A sudden change from 3.0% agreement among one year immigrants, to 13.7% among two year immigrants was largely due to the high

proportion of no opinions, ranging from 11% to 63% which greatly diminished the value of this question; when these were disregarded no significance was found, nor was any found with country of origin held constant. A larger proportion of the U.K. group agreed than the S.African, while 37.4%^{xx} of the foreign-born group agreed.

Q.52 (One should arrive at a party fifteen minutes late). 14.6% of the total sample agreed, and 16.1% of born-Rhodesians. No significant association was found between response and length of residence.

Country of origin showed a relationship valid at the .05 level, due to a low measure of agreement among the S.A. group and a high measure among the foreign-born.

Q.55 (Games are as important for children as their work). 78.05% of the total sample, and 85.5% of Rhodesian-born agreed. No relationship was found with length of stay.

A significant difference was observed between the S.A. and U.K. groups, the former in common with their Rhodesian compatriots, tended to agree more frequently. Responses among the foreign-born corresponded to expectation.

Q.56 (Children should be encouraged to grow up as independent as possible). 88.2% of the total sample, and 90.6% of the born-Rhodesians, agreed. No relationship was found according to length of stay, nor was any found with country of residence

except in the case of foreign-born immigrants who agreed less frequently (71.3%)

Q.61 (It is better not to have school in the afternoon).
Agreed by 46.15% of the total sample and 58.8% of born-Rhodesians. The only significant relationship was found among the born-Rhodesians who tended to agree more often, otherwise opinion was equally divided along the residence continuum.

With country of origin held constant, neither the S.A. nor the U.K. group showed any significant variation, although when country of birth was considered alone, the S.A., S.R., and U.K. groups each departed significantly from expectation, the first two towards agreement, the third away. Foreign-born immigrants did not vary.

Those who identified themselves as 'British' evidenced disproportionately low agreement, while 'Rhodesians' and 'S.Africans' were both significantly high.

Finally, the results of these sections of the questionnaire are recorded in Diagrams 17 and 18, where Tschuprow's T values and ϕ coefficients are arranged by subject.

Diagram 19 indicates the area in which the greatest fluctuation of response occurred for those questions wherein length of residence had been shown relevant to response pattern.

Question No. (Column)	24	25	26	27	48	49	50	53	59	62	28	29	30	31	32	37	40	54	57	60
LENGTH	.18 ^{xx}	.22 ^{xx}	.12 ^x	.28 ^{xx}	.10 [*]	.15 ^{xx}	.34 ^{xx}	.16 ^{xx}	.14 ^{xx}	.33 ^{xx}	.27 ^{xx}	.20 ^{xx}	.15 ^{xx}							
OF	.10 ^{xx}	.15 ^{xx}	.10 ^x	.11 ^{xx}	.11 ^{xx}	.11 ^{xx}	.10 ^x	.19 ^{xx}	.10 ^{xx}											
RESIDENCE	.19 ^{xx}	.10 ^x	.11 ^x	.23 ^{xx}	.12 ^{xx}	.14 ^{xx}	.08 ^x	.26 ^{xx}	.11 ^x	.24 ^{xx}	.13 ^{xx}	.14 ^{xx}	.16 ^{xx}	.23 ^{xx}						
COUNTRY	.08 ^{xx}	.03 ^{xx}	.15 ^{xx}	.08 ^{xx}	.26 ^{xx}	.11 ^x	.24 ^{xx}	.13 ^{xx}	.14 ^{xx}	.16 ^{xx}	.23 ^{xx}									
OF	xx	xx	x	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
BIRTH	xx	xx	x	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
IDENTIFICATION	.15 ^{xx}	.07 ^{xx}																		
A.	4-18 ^{xx}	4-83 ^{xx}																		
B.	3-45 ^{xx}	4-21 ^{xx}																		
DISCONTINUED	GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE, SECTION B, SUMMARY OF RESULTS.																			

- 2x2 Tables, ϕ co-efficient

xx Significant at .01 @ TSCHUPROW'S T.

INDICATES SIGNIFICANCE FOR LENGTH

A. Satisfaction related to Question Response

A Comparison of certain Leavers with Doubtful Leavers for Question Response.

③ Tschuprow's T for identification, as indicated by reply to Q. 17.

④ t -value for discontant, is indicated by reply to Q. 69.

DIAGRAM 17

C. RACE QUESTIONS

D. GENERAL

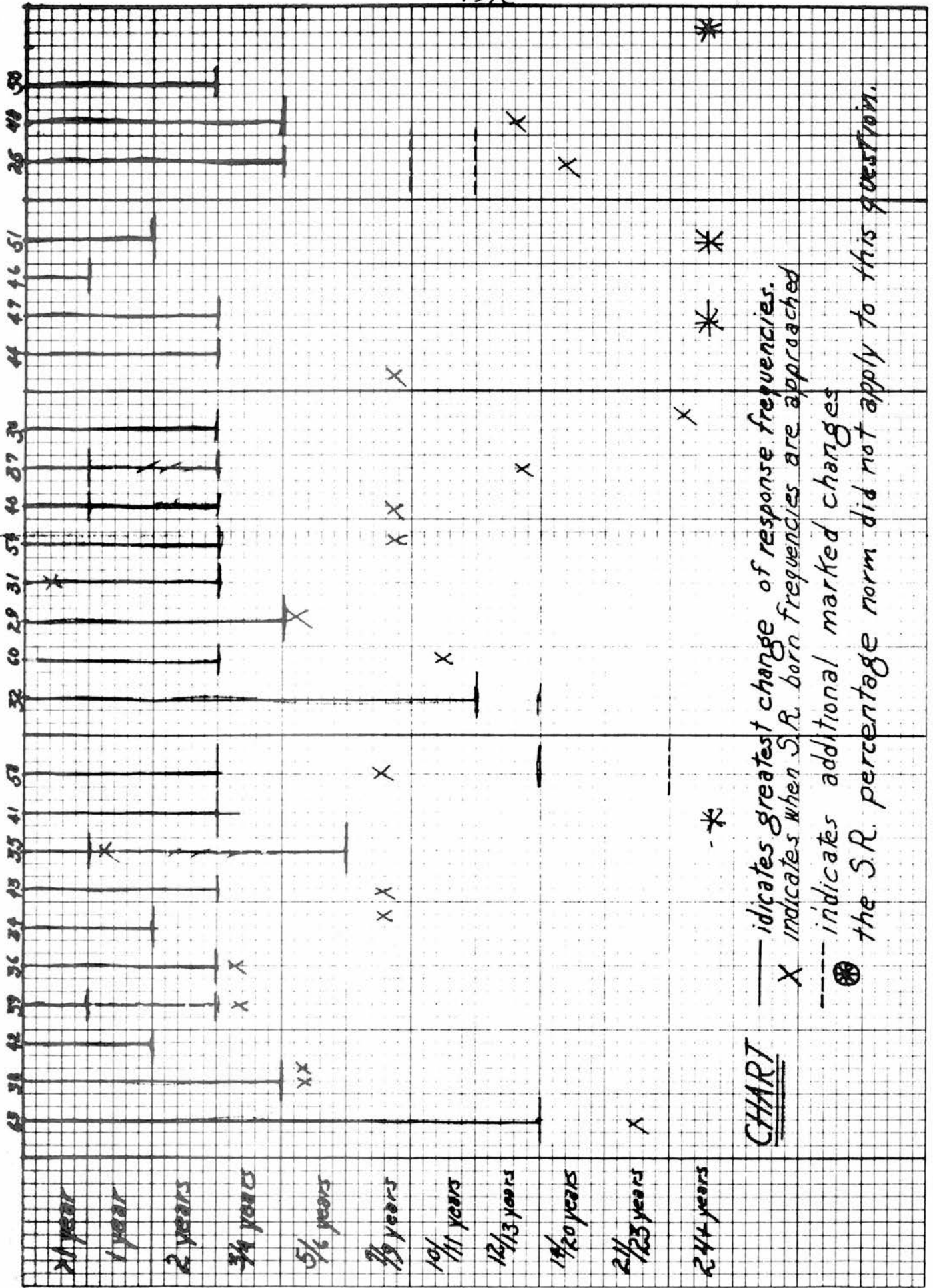
G. SAMPLE

137B

[illegible]

S SAMPLE

137c



In this chapter, an attempt has been made to determine whether certain questions discriminate according to length of residence, satisfaction, identification and country of origin. A second purpose has been to decide the extent, among European society, of certain beliefs and attitudes.

The critical nature of the third post-immigrant year has been demonstrated in several cases, particularly for questions with a political flavour. Opinions about the country in general tend to take longer to form, whereas certain race preconceptions tend to change after only a year.

One other feature has been the consistency of change between the groups resident for respectively two and three/four years. In four questions the indigenous (S.R.born) normative frequency was not reached by any first generation immigrant group.

A large proportion of the total population were found to have the opinion:

- i) That it is wrong for mothers to work (83%)
- ii) That it is pleasant to picnic in the bush (70%)
- iii) That the European population should be much larger (90%)
- iv) That African advance is too rapid (72%)
- v) That, individually, the African is inferior to the European (73%)
- vi) That African housing should be kept separate (92%)
- vii) That African schooling should be kept separate (90%)
- viii) That it takes more than education to make an African civilised (92%)
- ix) That games are as important for children as their work (78%)
- x) That children should be encouraged to grow up independent (88%)

Eight out of ten questions concerned with race affairs discriminated according to length of residence, indicating a gradual deterioration among the white population of their attitudes towards black Africans.

The various critical periods that some of these responses have suggested will be examined in more detail during the case-study analysis. Until then it must remain uncertain, for example, whether changes between the pre-1936 group and the rest is because beliefs and attitudes of this kind tend to become relatively extreme, or whether it is those immigrants holding them who remain for that length of time in the country.

CHAPTER VThe General Questionnaire (continued.)

This chapter is devoted to considering additional material obtained from the questionnaire which is of relevance to the process of assimilation. It is divided into three parts. The first discusses a further series of factors thought likely to be associated with satisfaction; the second considers status and a broad outline of the social structure of the European population in Salisbury; the third completes the content analysis of the questionnaire by supplying further sociological data.

Satisfaction.

Although Section F of the questionnaire had been prepared after a pilot study had substantiated the discriminative value of the twenty statements listed, a further analysis was made after the full returns had been completed. As this analysis suggested that, although measuring up to the t value of significance customarily accepted, the three questions with the lowest discriminatory values were open to ambiguous interpretations, these three questions, numbers 2, 8 and 18, were accordingly deleted. Thus the final scale incorporated seventeen questions. In order to provide a standard interpretation of scores free from differences in means and standard deviations of the various questions, each raw score was converted into its appropriate T score in accordance with the formula given in the appendix.

One problem in dealing with satisfaction and its associated factors was to distinguish between the independent variable as cause and effect. Where this seemed uncertain, as in the case of Srole's anomia-scale, the question was left open pending individual case studies.

(a) It has been noted that a strong relation seemed to exist between satisfaction and religious preference, although because of the number of non-religious factors apparently influencing the latter, the question required closer attention. It was hypothesized that sociological rather than theological factors might be more significant.

Two further sets of response were therefore related to satisfaction, avowal of belief in God, and church attendance. If the mean satisfaction score for any group answering these questions differed, this would suggest a more direct connection than had been supposed between religious belief and behaviour on the one hand and satisfaction on the other. Table 25 gives the result of these comparisons.

TABLE 25.

Belief in God, Church Attendance and Satisfaction

	Belief in God.			Attendance at Church	
	Assenters.	Dissenters.	Undecided.	Attenders.	Absentees.
Number	1810	90	43	712	1201
Mean satisfaction score	49.76	48.12	48.14	49.87	50.98
Level of Significance (using two-tailed test)	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀

The failure of any of the above group means to reach the .05 level of significance was taken as evidence that the association between church membership and satisfaction is more likely to have a sociological than a theological foundation. An overall majority (62.8%) did not normally attend church services, but although their mean satisfaction exceeded that of the attending group, this was by an insignificant margin.

This conclusion must, however, be viewed with caution since members of churches had been found to differ directionally from the universal mean, so that the low scoring member of the Dutch Reform Church will have been compensated in the above table by the high scoring Presbyterians and Anglicans. It would be necessary to know what proportion of each church's membership were regular attenders before this question could be finally resolved. Nevertheless, the facts reported remain valid; neither those who believed in God nor those who normally attended Church (which is not normative behaviour) tended to be more/satisfied immigrants than those who did not.

(b) The relationship between general satisfaction and job satisfaction was thought to be reciprocal.

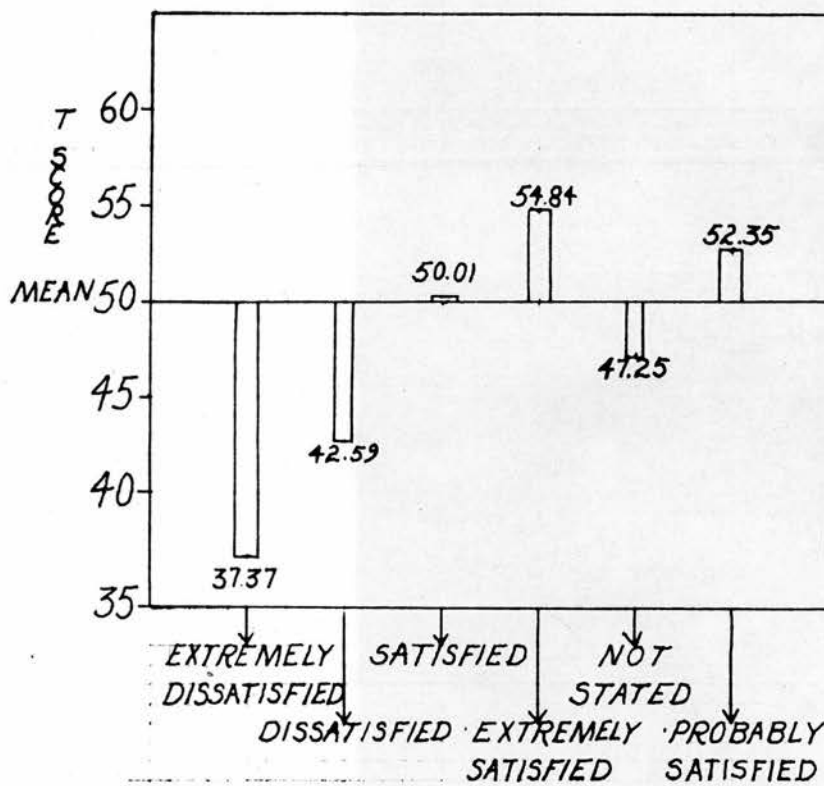
Respondents were asked to state whether they were "extremely satisfied", "satisfied", "dissatisfied" or "extremely dissatisfied" with their job. They were also asked whether, if they won the State Lottery, they would continue with their present job.

Table 26 provides a figurative analysis of these responses, using a two-tailed test of significance, while diagram 20 illustrates the near straight line relationship involved.

SATISFACTION and JOB SATISFACTION

S SAMPLE

— SIGNIFICANT AT .01



JOB SATISFACTION

DIAGRAM 20

TABLE 26.

Job Satisfaction and General Satisfaction. (C sample)

	$\bar{x} = 50.19$					$\bar{x} = 50.18$	
	Extremely satisfied with job.	Satisfied with job.	Dis- satisfied with job.	Extremely dis- satisfied with job.		Would continue in job.	Would not continue in job.
N	290	1175	122	16		891	661
Mean satisfac- tion score	54.84	50.01	42.59	37.37		52.35	47.25
SD	10.18	10.94	11.39	11.66		10.67	12.30
V	18.56	21.88	26.74	31.20		20.38	26.03
t value	7.76	0.56	7.54	4.26		6.07	6.12
Level of significance	<.01	H ₀	<.01	<.01		<.01	<.01

To ascertain whether the Yes - No response was more discriminating at certain levels, an analysis was made of the above answers taken in conjunction. These are recorded in Table 27.

TABLE 27

Job Satisfaction and Continuance of Job and Satisfaction (C sample)

$$\bar{x} = 49.63$$

	YES				NO			
	Extremely satisfied with job.	Satisfied with job.	Dis- satisfied with job.	Extremely satisfied with job.	Satisfied with job.	Dis- satisfied with job.	Extremely dis- satisfied with job.	
N	224	644	21	60	486	1010	14	
Mean Satisfac- tion score	55.92	51.41	44.19	50.67	48.17	42.26	36.57	
SD	9.99	10.36	13.56	10.72	11.62	14.22	11.00	
t value	9.40	4.36	1.45	0.74	2.77	5.26	4.28	
Level of significance	<.01	<.01	H ₀	H ₀	<.01	<.01	<.01	

The relationship between job satisfaction and general satisfaction was thus found to be extremely close, and if the wish to continue in the same job even after winning a fortune is also considered, this is likely to increase the predictive value of the question. For example, the group who stated they were satisfied in their work but would nevertheless change if they won a fortune, had a satisfaction score below \bar{x} , while the group who were extremely satisfied in their work but would still change, have a mean no higher than \bar{x} . Thus it was found that although there was this straight line relationship between job and general satisfaction, the addition of the question "Would you continue in your present job if you won the State Lottery?" added sensitivity to the question. This was probably due to a tendency among respondents to overstate their degree of job satisfaction.

Having established the significance of the association between these two variables in Southern Rhodesia, the question of the relative importance of one to the other came to be considered in subsequent case studies.

(c) A recent Australian study reported no significant difference in formal social activity according to assimilation level.*

Working on the hypothesis that formal group membership was likely to be a factor in hastening the assimilative process,

* The Assimilation of British Immigrants in a W.Australian Community.
Allan Richardson, REMP.Bulletin Vol.9 No.1/2

mean satisfaction scores were obtained for each of fifteen categories of membership. The results of this analysis, represented in Table 28, were not altogether as expected. Although in three cases, a small N may have accounted for their failure to reach the necessary criterion of significance, only three others reached the criterion. Members of sporting groups had a mean score very significantly above average, members of dramatic groups which flourish in Rhodesia, had a mean whose positive difference satisfied the .05 level, whereas respondents who were members of no formal social groups at all had a norm sufficiently below the average to satisfy the .01 level of significance.

TABLE 28

Formal Social Group Membership and Satisfaction (G sample)

$\bar{X} = 50.06$

Membership of	None	Civilic	Political	Scientific	Religious	Ex-service	Welfare	Good causes	Cultural	Sporting	Women's Organizations	British Legion	Dramatic
N	609	25	17	43	209	90	81	98	71	464	68	22	54
Mean Satisfaction score	46.45	46.80	46.88	49.16	49.34	49.76	60.49	50.53	51.34	51.72	51.96	53.27	55.91
SD	11.40	13.54	14.46	11.82	10.13	12.96	11.34	12.34	10.72	10.83	9.71	12.63	8.77
t value	7.81	1.19	0.88	0.49	1.05	0.23	0.52	0.36	1.00	3.30	1.60	1.16	2.52
Level of significance	<.01	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	H ₀	NS	<.01	H ₀	H ₀	<.05

The fact that the 609 respondents who were not members of any social group had a mean score significantly lower than \bar{x} may have been largely cause or largely effect of a comparatively low measure of satisfaction. As before, this problem awaited direct personal enquiry.

One possibility that required investigation was the mean length of residence of members of the various groups. A chi-analysis using twelve categories of residence against (i) the no membership group, (ii) religious societies, (iii) sporting societies and (iv) respondents belonging to three or more formal groups, produced a result (90.10;df 36) that exceeded the .01 level of validity. Table 29 gives the proportion of the four categories showing a significant result in Table 28, according to lengths of residence.

TABLE 29

Mean percentage lengths of residence of 3 groups according to their formal social group membership. (G sample).

Residence in years.	Members of None(A)	Sporting (B)	Dramatic (C)	Members of 3 or more(D)	Estimated proportion of total population
Up to 2	24.8	13.2	11.4	11.9	21.2
3 - 6	21.7	18.5	28.6	15.8	24.4
7 - 11	21.2	27.4	31.4	24.2	18.3
12 - 20	9.1	9.8	11.4	13.0	9.7
Longer than 21	13.3	14.3	5.7	21.7	13.4
Born	9.9	16.8	11.4	13.4	13.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

The low mean score of group A could be attributed to its high percentage of newcomers. There was little difference between the two high scoring groups B and C except that the percentage of members born in Rhodesia was highest of all for the Sporting group. Those who join three or more voluntary groups tend to do so during their first 10 years of residence, although there is a further spurt, probably occasioned by increased leisure opportunities during retirement, among those resident for more than twenty years.

The pattern obtained from Table 29, one of increased proportional membership during approximately the first ten years of residence, supported the view that group membership is a factor in the assimilation process. The fact that the major increases in membership occur after the first two full years further suggested that the breakthrough followed rather than preceded the assimilative period of crisis.

(d) One of the working hypotheses in this study had been that immigrant satisfaction, as a preliminary but essential part of the assimilative process, implies an ability on the part of the immigrant to accept the cultural norms of the new society.

From this a further, corollative, hypothesis was affirmed that where an immigrant fails to measure up to his own pre-immigrant aspirations, conflicts arise between social and individual frames of reference.

When considering this hypothesis it was necessary again to

discriminate between cause and effect. The problems here seemed not so much whether, on the one hand, satisfaction was associated with adjustment to revised social norms, and, on the other, whether comparative discontent was associated with a disintegration between the individuals norms and those of society, but rather was it the question of which came first.

Our analysis of these problems employed the concept of anomia. This has been defined in sociological terms as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them.*

In America, Meier and Bell have reported that, on the psychological level, anomia results when individuals lack access to means for the achievement of life goals. Their report did not, however, determine which came first, either in time or as cause.

Srole's anomia scale was thus incorporated into the questionnaire, as well as being administered individually in our subsequent studies. The Cornell scaling technique was applied to the sample, the co-efficient of reproducibility being 0.89 and the minimal marginal reproducibility 0.74 (Goodenough). As with the Meier/Bell study, the scoring was as follows:

* See Social Theory and Social Structure, R.K. Merton, Free Press 1957 pp.131-194

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Question 1.	Strongly Agree and Agree.	2
	Undecided, Disagree and	
	Strongly Disagree.	0
Question 2.	Strongly Agree and Agree.	2
	Undecided, Disagree and	
	Strongly Disagree.	0
Question 3.	Strongly Agree, Agree and	
	Undecided.	2
	Disagree.	1
	Strongly Disagree.	0
Question 4.	Strongly Agree and Agree.	2
	Undecided, Disagree and	
	Strongly Disagree.	0
Question 5.	Strongly Agree and Agree.	2
	Undecided and Disagree.	1
	Strongly Disagree.	0

It is, of course, important to distinguish between social disorganisation and individual disorganisation.

Srole himself has distinguished between the sociological concept of anomie and an individual eunomia-anomia socio-psychological continuum along which he claims the above scale
*
measure.

The Pearsonian co-efficient for satisfaction score and anomia was $-.534$, confirming a substantial relationship between them. The means satisfaction score for those groups scoring three or less on the anomia-scale in each case exceeded \bar{x} by an amount that satisfied the .01 level of significance, while the same was true in the opposite direction for all groups whose anomia scale
* Nettler has suggested that the scale measures despair.

was six or more. The groups scoring four and five on the anomia-scale had modal frequencies as well as modal scores. The distribution of anomia scores, which showed positive skewness, is illustrated in diagrams 21 and 22 with the slight negative skewness of satisfaction score frequencies. The sharp increase in the frequency of those reaching maximum score over those scoring 6, 7, 8, or 9, on the anomia-scale reflected the pervasive character of despair. Despair is not discriminating.

The closeness and probable nature of this relationship will be discussed in later sections.

*

Richardson has argued that in thinking about overall voluntary immigrant satisfaction, it is necessary to consider two sets of needs, those that were not being satisfied in the country of origin and those which, although satisfied in the old country, are not being satisfied in the new. Although this seems a reasonable differentiation, the question of personal needs, whether material or social, seems one that can only be satisfactorily resolved at the intensive face-to-face level of investigation. For broad treatment, such as is involved in a questionnaire whose primary purpose is the collection of general demographic and attitudinal data, it is only possible to locate certain correlates which act as a guide for further, more detailed investigation. For this purpose the Likert type scale of satisfaction, here employed, seemed comprehensive, reliable^e and

* Ibid.p.10.

^e Because of pressure and the clearly observed response pattern that emerged after marking over 2000 replies it was not considered necessary to employ the Spearman-Brown formula for reliability.

154A

SATISFACTION
and
ANOMIE

G Sample

EUGENE DIETZGEN CO.
MADE IN U. S. A.NO. 340-10 DIETZGEN GRAPH PAPER
10 X 10 PER INCHT
SCORE

MEAN

MEAN

ANOMIA SCORE

 $r_{xy} = -.534$
 $\bar{x} = 49.86$
 (T. SCORE)

DIAGRAM 21



valid.

Class and Social Structure.

Solution to problems of personal satisfaction may be more important to voluntary migrants than to others. Whether this is true, or whether migrancy merely highlights the question, will be discussed in a later chapter.

The social hierarchy indicates the levels of potential and achieved satisfaction open to him.

In Rhodesia it was hypothesised that improvement of social status, consequent upon the existence of a large socially inferior African class, played a crucial part in the assimilation process. To test this hypothesis, and because no previous research had been done into the social structure of the European population, it was decided to devote to the problem two sections of the questionnaire (sections H and I). It was thought necessary to learn something of the nature of the interactions between it and the social structure in order to understand the interactions between it and the continuously arriving immigrants.

A. The first question was 'What do you think are the main classes in Rhodesian society?' It will be noticed that the adjective 'social' was avoided since it was felt that especially in the Rhodesian situation the term was both too emotive and too specific. Replies were broken down into eleven categories.

These, together with the response frequency for each, were

as follows:

1. Conventional - (Upper-Middle-Lower)	423
2. Occupational	245
3. Classless (eg. 'No classes in Rhodesia')	245
4. Economic (eg. Rich-Poor)	148
5. Social (eg. 'Snobs, Social Climbers and the Rest')	58
6. Behavioral (eg. 'Honest-Dishonest')	43
7. Educational/Intellectual (eg. Educated-Uneducated)	26
8. Racial (Africans-Europeans)	13
9. Political (eg. Government, anti-government)	8
10. Religious	3
11. Others (mostly uncompleted)	<u>788</u>
	<u>2000</u>

From this list several interesting considerations emerged.

1. A myth existed that Rhodesia was classless. This accounted for the large majority of the not-stated who either believed the myth or wished to preserve it. This line of thought was nicely exemplified by the respondent who wrote across this section of the questionnaire "I do not believe in class here. I am a European".

The purpose of the myth was twofold; it helped to sustain cohesiveness and obviated tension among the politically harassed whites; at the same time this overt closing of the ranks preserved a racially united front and bolstered the ego of the many immigrants arriving from countries in which before they

had identified themselves with the lower social echelons. It was at once politically expedient and socially convenient.

When personal mobility within a class structure depends on group action rather than on individual performance, social classes are perceived in terms of membership and non-membership of the group. Thus, in Rhodesia, for most Europeans the dominating conflict is between black and white; one's class is therefore identified with the colour group to which one happens to belong. Hence among those principally and immediately concerned with the problem of race conflict, within the (European) group itself there is strong social pressure against the perception of class.

ii. Although to be regarded largely as a myth, this image of Rhodesia as a classless society has some basis. It is sufficiently long and firmly established to be sincerely believed; this in itself encouraged its fulfilment.

iii. Individual responses were likely to reflect factors in the social situation that the respondent himself considered important-34.9% of those answering the question did so according to the conventional trichotomy 'lower-middle-upper'; as many as 20.2% said there were no classes - the same number thought that occupation was important, and 12.2% answered in terms of economic wealth.

For those less immediately concerned with the race conflict

but more immediately concerned with upward personal mobility through individual effort, classification by occupation or income might be expected.

iv. There was no clearly established view of the kinds of social classes. This may be attributed to (a) confusion created by the myth of social equality, (b) a genuine reflection of a socially fluid condition, (c) a pre-occupation with inter-racial rather than intra-racial differences, (d) the differing emphases of factors in social structure within different social strata and (e) a difference in perception occasioned by differences of interest and motivation.

A chi-analysis was undertaken of the relation between identification of the main classes with the four most frequent responses and length of residence. With $df = 27$, $\chi^2 = 40.46$, the result was significant at the .05 level. The largest variations from proportional expectancy occurred for the groups resident less than two years, fewer of whom thought Rhodesia 'classless' and more of whom answered in conventional terms. Among born-Rhodesians, and among the old established immigrants, however, $f_o = f_t$.

This suggested that the new immigrants expectancy of a similar class structure to the old country did not change until after two years. Only 6.4% of those resident for one year or less considered Rhodesia a 'classless' society.

Further chi-analysis failed to provide evidence for any contingent relationship between either anomia or job-satisfaction and the perceived class structure.

B. The second question concerning class asked for the order of importance of 8 factors in assessing the class position of an individual. In a similar enquiry in the United States, Centers, using 4 criteria, found that personal beliefs were regarded as the major factor in almost half the number of cases considered. Table 30 sets out the results obtained in S.Rhodesia with comparable figures from a parallel Australian investigation. *

TABLE 30.

Order of importance of eight factors in assessing class position.

Order in Australia with percentage votes.	Factor in Rhodesian order.	Mean Position in Southern Rhodesia.
1 (36)	Education	2.55
3 (19)	Family	3.62
4 (18)	Occupation	3.93
2 (26)	Money	4.00
4 (18)	Social Contacts	4.32
6 (9)	Prestige	4.58
8 (6)	Power	5.26
- -	Country of Origin	5.69

It cannot be assumed that responses obtained to a questionnaire provide a reliable guide to class prejudice. Nevertheless it is interesting to notice the closeness with which Rhodesian responses paralleled the Australian. The immediate race problem seemed to have little effect on assessment. Although

* Richardson A, REMP Bulletin Vol.9 No.1/2

education was seventh in the order of descriptive class categories as a factor in determining class it was easily first. Country of origin was dismissed as the least important. Nevertheless, observation suggested that it carried more significance than these results suggested, the real factor of origin being frequently masked by rationalisation. The Greek, Italian and Dutch immigrants came to fill lower occupational vacancies than their British and South African counterparts. The prejudice in favour of the latter was thus built in to the migration pattern by a restriction not only on the number of non-British migrants but also on the type of employment they came to fill.

For the British immigrant, who took advantage of the myth of a classless society, financial success led to prestige and social parity within the appropriate stratum. Thus the store manager had equal social opportunity with the factory director, the professor mixed freely and frequently with the most junior lecturer. The Prime Minister kept an open house and nicely epitomised the myth by publicly uncovering his braces.

C. The third question concerning class was 'To which class would you say you belonged?'.

The wording was deliberately equivocal and open, and was intended to convey the respondent's self-perceived class position. Although the egalitarian myth prevented a large number from replying, 915 positive replies were received and these seemed

*
sufficient for useful analysis. Table 31 gives self-stratum choice in relation to occupation.

TABLE 31.

Occupation and Self-Stratum choice.

Occupation	Self-stratum choice					By Occupation
	L -	LM	- M	- UM	- U	
Semi-skilled/ skilled	21		18	1	1	1
Craft	22	5	26	1	-	2
Management aid	27	7	58	12	7	10
Management	10	1	48	9	5	13
Professional	4	4	21	10	3	22
Farmers	1	-	9	-	-	-

The majority of all the occupational categories regarded themselves as middle class with the exception of the semi-skilled and skilled, who tended to regard themselves as belonging to the working or 'lower' class. The tendency to place oneself within an occupational rather than a conventional hierarchy increased as the occupational scale was ascended; 34.3% of professional men regarded themselves as belonging to a 'professional' class, whereas the corresponding figure for administrators was 11.1% and for craftsmen and skilled workers 3.6%.

Occupation became more important as its prestige-value increased, although the proportions whose self-stratum most suggested a degree of social ambition based on other than

* The comparable figure in the Australian study was 118, plus only 10 who thought Australia classless.

occupational values were the administrators, 15.9% of whom identified themselves with an upper or upper-middle class.

The middle class was chosen by the largest proportion of individuals from all except one occupational category, among whom it was chosen by an almost equal number. It was also interesting that of the ten recorded responses from farmers, all but one identified himself with a middle class and none used an occupational category.

Among born Rhodesians who answered the question, 72(28.2%) regarded themselves as belonging to the 'average' or 'middle' class. Although this was a slightly higher percentage than for most immigrant groups, no clear difference was apparent.

D. The fourth question concerning the class structure was:

'If their jobs were all you knew about the following types of people, to which class would you say they belonged?'

The purposes of this question were threefold. First, to observe whether the response pattern that emerged from question one would be confirmed. Second, it was intended to provide a quick guide to the respondent's habitual pre-conception when given a more concrete frame of reference. The third purpose of the question was to provide a provisional pattern of comparative prestige in the community.

In the following analysis, only those replies were

considered that referred directly to the conventional terms. It was therefore decided that the 500+ responses received should be sufficient to form a reliable judgment.

In addition to recording all five conventional terms (Upper, Upper Middle, Middle, Lower Middle and Lower) two additional terms were incorporated 'Working' and 'Artisan', which, since they were invariably used in contradistinction to an implicitly 'higher' class in the social hierarchy, were in the context equated with 'lower'.

The frequencies of response for each of the fifteen occupations is recorded in Table 32. From these results an index of prestige was obtained for each occupation by multiplying the frequency of 'upper' responses by five, the upper-middle by four, the middle (or average) by three, the lower-middle by two and the lower (or working or artisan) by one. The indices thus obtained indicated a graduation in the scale of prestige which, as well as being interesting in itself, rather reflected the myth of equality. These findings are reproduced in Table 33.

TABLE 32.

Perceived Strata Positions of Occupational Groups.

Occupation	U	UM	Frequency of Response			(W/A)
			M	LM	L	
Politicians	220	39	172	4	14	(0)
Sportsmen	15	6	345	14	16	(59)
Artists	46	20	332	10	20	(39)
Police	11	9	369	20	28	(98)
Owners of Large Businesses	212	37	173	4	4	(12)
Farmers	72	22	319	8	13	(62)
Railwaymen	6	2	188	27	146	(198)
Teachers	39	22	375	11	9	(50)
Shop Assistants	9	3	221	35	144	(164)
Doctors	221	47	170	2	3	(14)
Military	36	16	325	11	35	(80)
Executives of Large Businesses	30	34	178	2	1	(10)
Shopkeepers	19	8	380	21	22	(77)
Scientists	205	39	202	2	1	(17)
Office Workers	8	10	378	17	34	(101)

U = Upper. UM = Upper Middle. M = Middle(Average). LM = Lower
Middle
L = Lower. W/A = Working and/or Artisan.

TABLE 33.

Prestige Indices of Occupational Groups.

Occupational Group	Prestige Index.
Executives of large businesses)	
Doctors)	
Politicians)	
Owners of large businesses)	4.0
Scientists	3.9
Farmers)	
Artists)	3.0
Teachers	2.9
Military)	
Artists)	
Sportsmen)	2.7
Police)	
Office Workers)	2.5
Shop Assistants	1.9
Railway Workers	1.8

In order to ascertain the manner and degree to which self-stratus choice and occupational category influenced these results, and to find out whether there was a tendency to extend the coverage of one's own self-perceived class, further analysis was carried out along the lines indicated in Tables 34 and 35.

TABLE 34

Percentage Occupational and Social Class as assessed by 6 occupational groups.

Occupational Category	Railwaymen			Office Workers			Teachers			Scientists			Owners of Large Businesses			Doctors		
	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W
Skilled/semi-skilled	50	22	28	8	64	28	12	64	24	48	35	17	54	32	14	52	34	14
Management aid	1	34	65	1	75	24	9	72	19	57	37	6	69	29	2	75	23	2
Teachers	5	35	60	10	74	16	18	76	6	57	43	-	50	43	7	73	27	-
Scientists	-	43	57	-	71	29	1	100	-	17	83	-	40	60	-	33	67	-
Owners of companies	-	35	61	4	71	25	5	85	10	55	65	-	61	33	6	51	69	-
Professional	-	31	69	3	62	35	13	70	17	42	46	12	62	32	6	63	33	4

TABLE 35

Percentage Self-stata choice and social class of 6 occupations.

Self-stratum choice	Railwaymen			Office Workers			Teachers			Scientists			Large Businesses			Doctors		
	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W	H	M	W
Working	-	10	90	-	32	68	-	43	57	42	36	22	54	29	17	48	33	19
Middle	1	47	52	1	86	13	8	89	3	47	50	3	62	37	1	61	38	1
Upper	12	19	69	19	56	25	37	44	19	71	23	6	83	17	-	100	-	-

The main inferences to be drawn from Table 35 were the following.

1. A marked tendency among the category generally regarded as working-class (skilled and semiskilled workers) to upgrade the occupation unequivocally within that class (railwaymen). Thus 50% of responses from the skilled and semi-skilled, classified railwaymen as belonging to the high or upper class.

This percentage, which compares favourably with the proportion of teachers and scientists similarly classified, is less surprising than at first sight it may appear. At the time the questionnaire was being administered, railwaymen were fighting a test case with the government against the threatened intrusion of African skilled labour into the railways. To this extent, white railway workers were regarded by European trade unionists as the champions fighting for the preservation of their economic privileges, and Government lack of sympathy increased the force of this sentiment. To many white artisans Government resistance to the railwaymen's claims contained the implicit suggestion that the importance of these workers in the nation's economy was grossly undervalued.

Nevertheless, when this finding is examined in comparison with other classifications of this group, strong evidence emerges of a tendency for ascribed members of the working class

to upgrade their own occupations whilst downgrading others. Thus there is a movement towards social class equilibrium.

2. The tendency of the working-class to downgrade the higher occupational echelons is observed in the percentages of the four prestigious occupations placed in the working-class category. In each case the percentage was the highest recorded.

3. The occupational categories in the middle range of prestige, generally regarded as middle-class (management-aid and teachers), were the most ready to admit the existence of a class both 'above' and 'below' their own. While regarding office-workers and teachers as predominantly middle-class, they also expressed a belief in the existence of a working class at one end of the scale and of an upper class at the other end.

The proportions of each of these categories placed in the upper and working brackets were almost exactly reversed. A majority of those engaged in management placed owners of large businesses in the upper bracket, whereas teachers divided between the upper and the other two brackets.

4. Scientists referred to an upper class less often than did other occupations. For them the class division seemed more firmly fixed between a comparatively small working-class and a large middle-class. Scientists placed themselves more firmly in the middle bracket than did other groups, a larger proportion

of whom thought of scientists as belonging to an upper class.

5. Compared to the middle-class occupations mentioned, members of the professions (other than teachers and journalists who were pre-classified separately) and owners of large businesses, who all occupied a high position on the scale of prestige, tended to downgrade the middle-class occupations. In addition, owners of large businesses, in common with scientists, severely down graded the medical profession.

6. An expansion effect was noted throughout. There was a tendency for persons to enlarge the classes with which they identified themselves.

7. Responses obtained from the most prestigious occupations reflected the class structure most accurately. Since this was not due to a disproportionate number from these occupations in the total sample from which the objective assessment was made, it seemed reasonable to suppose that this accuracy must have been due to (a) a social structure in which the upper classes exerted a dominant influence on the pattern, or (b) greater insight, or (c) a combination of both.

8. Taken together, these results suggested that the differences in responses may have been primarily due to differences in social motivation among the occupational categories, differences which, if they exist, broke across the tenuous boundaries between the classes.

For the skilled and semi-skilled, the prime social motivation with regard to social mobility and class position is seen as the accretion of prestige. Among the white population they are nearest in skill and income to their urban African rivals, and the consequent pressures to preserve a superior status are the most severe. Viewed in this way, economic motive is divorced from social motive; the essential struggle between the trade unions and Government over the question of African advancement has not been equal pay but equal rights. Membership of this group is in most cases involuntary, although in exceptional cases, promotional prospects exist.

For those engaged in management at the junior levels, and for the owners of large business enterprises, the primary social motive is economic. The accretion of wealth is often not only an end in itself but the focus for social ambition. Unlike the skilled and semi-skilled, economic and social incentives are integrated. Among those who succeeded in acquiring wealth, the argot may be expected to have still greater force. Membership of this group is usually voluntary, although the barriers between it and the third are firm, being based on acquired skill and intelligence.

The third suggested grouping by social motivation may be called the vocational. In this case although the motivation is less clear, it corresponds to the first in that the main motive is the accretion of status. In this case, however, it is seen as a desire for personal status, free of the immediate threats

which characterised the first group. Basically, the first group depends upon group solidarity and group action in order to withstand economic pressures from a perceived lower class (Africans). The vocational group, however, depends more upon individual effort in order to be granted the social status that, by reason of skill, it regards as its due. As with the first group, economic ambition is characteristically separated from social ambition.

These considerations help to explain some of the differences in Table 34, that have been already noted.

The pre-occupation of higher group prestige among the semi-skilled and skilled would account for the remarkably high percentage of railwaymen regarded by this group as belonging to the 'upper class'. There is also the movement towards social equilibrium so that class differences between the occupations are minimised.

Similarly, emphasis on financial considerations clearly accounts for the high proportions of successful businessmen placed in the upper bracket by both management-aid and owners of large businesses. The latter group, indeed, regarded all the other groups except themselves as belonging to either the middle or lower class.

A further consideration supporting this interpretation was the high proportion of professional respondent who gave as their class 'professional'. Among the 245 who made an assessment of their own class in occupational terms, 204 identified themselves

as professional.

Table 35 indicates that each one of the three principal self-perceived social strata regarded itself as the largest in the population, at least among the six given occupational categories. The only major difference from table 34 was that of the working-class response to railwaymen. The fact that 90% placed the railwaymen in the W bracket was not surprising since they had already placed themselves in this stratum. To this extent it was a pre-selected group.

Finally, a comparison was made between satisfaction-score and self-stratum choice, the results of which are shown in Table 36.

TABLE 36.

Satisfaction and Self-stratum choice.

$$\bar{x} = 53.35$$

Mean Satisfaction Score	S.D.	Self-stratum choice.	t	Significance
50.69	9.28	Working	2.35	< .01
53.79	7.84	Middle	0.46	> .05
53.73	8.05	Upper	2.33	< .01

Four facts emerged.

1. The mean satisfaction score for those giving a conventional response to self-stratum choice (53.35) was very significantly above the overall sample mean (using a two-tailed test of significance). This suggested that it was the comparatively more satisfied who affirmed the existence of a conventional

class structure in Rhodesia. This accords with the importance of the egalitarian myth to socially aspirant new immigrants.

2. Among those making a conventional-type self-stratum choice, those identifying with the working-class scored very significantly lower than \bar{x} .

3. Among those making a conventional type self-stratum choice, those identifying with the upper class scored very significantly above \bar{x} .

4. Those perceiving themselves as middle-class had a mean satisfaction score similar to \bar{x} .

E. The last question asked concerning classes was 'Sometimes it is said there is a conflict of aims between the classes. Do you think this is true in Rhodesia?.'

It was important to find out not only whether class conflict did exist but whether and in what proportions, people thought it existed.

Class conflict occurs when a common interest unites adjacent social levels in opposition to more distant social levels. In Rhodesia the cleavage between the white working class and the urban African working class was still too large, owing to differences of education and culture, to be regarded as adjacent. The danger of class conflict lay in a different

direction. The immediate short-term interests of the artisan, in checking African advancement before his black rivals could undermine the labour market, was in direct conflict to the ultimate long-term interests of the professionally qualified and commercially successful European whose main hope for continued peaceful living was the acceptance of African demands at the lower economic levels. Many of the latter did not recognise this position so that for them the situation was a simple one of closing the ranks. For those, however, who did make this interpretation of the political and social trend, then a conflict of class within the white community was inevitable. To the artisan it seemed like treason, to the upper income groups who accepted the existence of a conflict of aims, it was caused by political or economic myopia.

TABLE 37.

Satisfaction and response to question: 'Is there a conflict of aims between the different classes in Rhodesia?'.

$$\bar{x} = 49.98$$

	<u>REPLY</u>		Uncertain. No reply.		Total.
	Yes.	No.			
t [⊗]	5.06 ^{xx}	6.56 ^{xx}	0.61(H ₀)	-	-
Mean satisfaction score	47.99	53.14	50.81	-	-
S.D.	12.28	15.06	8.72	-	-
Number	979	606	43	372	2000

⊗ Using two-tailed test of significance.

The fact that almost half the total sample responded to this question in the affirmative required further scrutiny. The reasons for this were therefore considered in more detail in the case studies which follow.

The fact that the presence of a conflict was observed by so many meant that new immigrants became rapidly aware of a class antagonism based upon economic self-interest. It has already been observed that after two years immigrants were more aware of class differences. Nevertheless the conflict of aims did not form a barrier to social mobility, which remained enticingly fluid; it merely delineated more clearly the social class structure, and strengthened the tendency for social life to be centred around economic levels, giving it a disintegrative quality in sharp contrast to the myth of social egalitarianism. New immigrants were likely to become attached to a cohesive social group within which no class barriers existed, but outside of which it was extremely difficult to explore. For the lower income categories, the group would be more formalised reflecting the social structure of these categories and their ultimate dependence upon group solidarity. Thus the term 'artisan' symbolised class as well as occupational membership and was used far more extensively than any of its analogues in many more formally class-conscious countries. For the upper income groups, the private voluntary association was less likely to be formalised and more likely to be based upon occupational interest.

General Findings.

The present chapter, which closes our analysis of responses to the general questionnaire, concludes with a series of general references.

A. Anomia.

A high negative correlation has already been observed between general satisfaction and anomie. This raised the question of what might be different between these factors. Did one merely follow the other, and if so, which came first? Or did they refer to associated but quite different levels of attitude?

To help resolve these questions, a mean anomia-score was obtained for each length of residence category and for those born in Rhodesia. A two-tailed test of significance was then carried out for significance. Table 38 gives the result of this analysis.

TABLE 38.

Anomia and Length of Residence.

$\bar{x} = 4.545$ (G sample)

Category	Year of arrival	N	S.D.	Mean Anomia	Difference from \bar{x}	Students t
A	1959	74	2.53	3.92	- .62	2.09 ^x
B	1958	130	2.60	4.46	- .08	H ₀
C	1957	146	2.84	4.56	- .02	H ₀
D	1955/6	228	2.83	4.43	- .11	H ₀
E	1953/4	150	2.82	4.61	+ .07	H ₀
F	1950/2	258	2.73	4.85	+ .31	H ₀
G	1948/9	199	3.00	4.50	- .04	H ₀
H	1946/7	152	2.68	4.62	+ .08	H ₀
I	1939/45	74	2.87	4.30	- .24	H ₀
J	1936/38	66	2.87	4.05	- .49	H ₀
K	Pre 1936	261	3.21	4.39	- .15	H ₀
Rhodesian-born		255	2.85	5.18	+ .64	3.57 ^{xx}

Thus the pattern for anomia in relation to length of residence is radically different to that for satisfaction. Whereas general satisfaction was seen to increase with length of residence, being significantly lower for residence categories B, C, D and F, and significantly higher for both I and the born-Rhodesians^x, mean anomia-score differed from the overall sample norm only for those resident less than one year and for those born in the country. However, for these two categories, the difference in the case of anomia was in the same direction. Whereas newcomers had the lowest mean anomia score of any, the host population had the highest. Indeed no fewer than 11.76% scored the maximum ten points.

Anomia was next considered in relation to political preference, with results as shown in Table 39.

TABLE 39.

Anomia and Political Preference (G sample)

$$\bar{x} = 4.43$$

Political Preference	N	S.D.	Mean Anomia	Difference from \bar{x}	t-value
Dominion Party	404	2.96	6.08	+1.65	11.22 ^{xx}
United Federal Party	913	2.46	3.66	-0.77	9.51 ^{xx}
Central African Party	57	1.73	2.77	-1.66	7.19 ^{xx}
No Preference (specified)	183	2.81	5.10	+0.67	3.22 ^{xx}

A direct comparison of these findings with those for satisfaction is given in Table 40.

^x See Diagram 9, ~~page~~

TABLE 40.

Comparison of results for Anomia and Satisfaction with Political Preference. (G sample)

Political Preference	Satisfaction Direction-Significance	Anomia Direction and significance
U.F.P.	+ 2.02 $p < .01$	- .77 $p < .01$
C.A.P.	- .70 $< .05$	-1.66 $p < .01$
None(specified)	- 3.73 $p < .01$	+ .67 $p < .01$
D.P.	- 4.39 $p < .01$	+ 1.65 $p < .01$

The negative association between general satisfaction and anomia is demonstrated in the above table. The only variation seemed to be in the case of the left wing Central Africa Party, whose mean anomia score was the lowest.

It has been established (with reference to length of residence) that these scales measure a different attitudinal constellation. Thus newly arrived immigrants do not, comparative to other residential categories, generally experience satisfaction, although their measure of normlessness is less. To a more marked extent, those born in Rhodesia, while being the only group, by country of origin, to have a mean satisfaction score significantly above the universal mean, are also the only group (compared to immigrants by length of residence) which showed a significance degree of normlessness. A distinction therefore would seem to be necessary between satisfaction with Rhodesia as a place in which to live, and a perceived access to achieve what Meier & Bell have called 'life goals'. This would be misleading, however, for the essential consideration is that it is the born-Rhodesians who evinced high satisfaction with

high anomia. The host population enjoyed living in their country, to which they felt strong national attachment. To Rhodesians, landlocked in the middle of a vast continent, and sheltered from the rest of the world by boundaries that had in the past been more impenetrable even than the sea, there was a growing fear that externally-imposed forces would wreck their lives. The secluded insularity of their old, pioneering way of life was threatened by forces not wholly understood but bitterly resented. To this group of old Rhodesians, immigrants were regarded with ambivalence. On the one hand they represented a subtle intrusion and on the other a necessary reinforcement.

What these results seemed to indicate was that this feeling of insecurity, fear and suspicion was beginning to formulate itself as a general distrust, a kind of despair. In the social environment in which it was used, therefore, the anomia-scale was interpreted as measuring despair, rather than either normlessness or the failure to achieve life goals, although these were nevertheless among its correlates.

This interpretation is substantiated by the results shown in table 39.

Here we found that supporters of the extreme right-wing (white supremacists) had a comparatively higher mean anomia (despair) score than they had a low satisfaction score. Their support of unrealistic, reactionary policies was associated

more closely with a feeling of hopelessness than with relative dis-satisfaction. By the same token, supporters of the reformist left-wing European Party, although tending to fall below the general mean of satisfaction, were the least despairing. In other words, those with confidence in the future (and in Rhodesia this connoted political future), supported strongly liberal measures in race affairs.

The remaining point of importance to be noted was that although immigrants resident for less than a year showed a highly significant negative deviation from the universal mean anomia score, the tendency was normalised among those resident for one full year. Thus the absence of despair, the presence perhaps of hopeful aspiration, so noticeable among newcomers, had become dissipated within the span of one year and did not return.

B. Job Satisfaction.

In exploring the importance of job satisfaction to assimilation, a distinction was made between (i) the degree of satisfaction as assessed by the questions (a) 'Are you on the whole extremely satisfied, satisfied, dis-satisfied, or extremely dis-satisfied, with your job?' and (b) 'If you won the State Lottery so that you no longer needed to work, would you continue with your present job?', and (ii) the comparative importance of three factors in the work situation. The second consideration

was examined through the question: 'In what order of importance do you place the following factors in your work?

Good Personal Relations

Good Working Conditions

Good Prospects of Advancement'

The importance of job satisfaction to general satisfaction had already been established.

A chi-analysis was made of job satisfaction with length of residence. In spite of the latter's strong correlation with general satisfaction, no association was found between job satisfaction and length of residence ($\chi^2 = 20.45$, df 33). The level of satisfaction obtained from one's employment was not affected by the length of time one had been resident in Rhodesia. New immigrants and born-Rhodesians had among them proportionately the same number of contented and discontented workers.

A relationship was confirmed between anomia (despair) score and certain levels of job-satisfaction. Table 41 records the principal findings.

TABLE 41
 Job Satisfaction and Anomia Score (G sample)
 $\bar{x} = 4.55$

Level of Satisfaction and Continuance of Present Work.

	ES	<u>Satisfied</u>				<u>Dis-satisfied</u>		
		S	ESx	S x	S	ED x	D x	D
Mean Anomia Score	3.36	4.43	4.63	4.83	3.65	5.93	5.87	5.43
Diff. from \bar{x}	-1.19	-.21	.08	.28	.90	2.38	1.32	.88
N	225	645	60	487	29	14	101	21
S.D.	2.57	2.73	2.48	2.89	2.15	2.40	2.79	2.87
P	< .01	H ₀	H ₀	< .01	< .05	< .01	< .01	H ₀

Notes

Would continue
 x Would not continue
 ES Extremely satisfied
 S Satisfied
 D Dis-satisfied
 ED Extremely dis-satisfied

The importance of using both indicators together is once more illustrated. The relative level of despair among the dis-satisfied was greater than its absence among the satisfied. But without a study of individual cases it was impossible to determine which was cause and which effect, or to what extent the association was reciprocal.

A chi-analysis produced a significant result at the .01 level for job satisfaction and response to the question 'What are the bad things about the Rhodesian way of life?'. With job satisfaction divided into three categories (extremely satisfied; satisfied and both degrees of dis-satisfaction) and

criticism of the Rhodesian way of life divided into six categories of disapproval (political, social, racial, moral, economic and general), $\chi^2 = 23.29$ (df 10).[#]

The principal reasons for this result were the disproportionately high number of 'extremely satisfied' who made social criticisms and the disproportionately low number of the same group who made economic criticisms.* This suggested the importance of economic factors in job satisfaction. The dissatisfied with their job showed no disproportionate responses.

The order of preference for work factors is given in Table 42.

TABLE 42.

Order of preference for importance of work factors

Frequency of response	Order of factors								
	1.2.3.	1.3.2	2.3.1	3.2.1	3.1.2	2.1.3	1.2/3	2/3.1	others
	382	351	313	245	163	147	66	42	52
Note: 1 Good Personal Relations 2 Good Working Conditions 3 Good Prospects of Advancement									

* The ten most frequent criticisms were: racial problems(192), social rivalry(178), cost of living(161), lack of social amenities(102), irreligion(96), too rapid African advancement(80), general political grievances(42), too much credit(60), insecurity(54), and foreign interference(49). The mean general satisfaction-score for each of the six groups mentioned above varied insignificantly from \bar{x} .

[#] See Appendix II.

Good personal relations were regarded as being the most important factor by 827 respondents (41%), good working conditions by 526 respondents (26%), and good prospects of advancement by 408 respondents (20%).

An interesting relationship was discovered between the factor placed first and leisure interests. With 8 degrees of freedom, $\chi^2 = 24.52^{xx}$, a finding mainly due to two discrepancies: i) an active interest in sport tended to go with an emphasis on good working conditions (f_t 102.5; f_o 130) and not to go with good personal relations (f_t 136.4; f_o 117); ii) a primary interest in things domestic tended to be associated with good working conditions (f_t 33.1; f_o 48) and less with good prospects of advancement (f_t 60.5; f_o 46).

The first may have been due to a factor of extraversion, the latter to the large number of working wives for whom congenial conditions of employment would be important. There was no significant variation in general satisfaction score according to the order in which these factors were placed.

This chapter has considered additional material gathered from the general questionnaire.

With regard to satisfaction with Rhodesia, occupational satisfaction and the fact of membership with dramatic and sporting groups are both significantly and positively associated. A significantly low level of satisfaction however, was found among those who were members of no voluntary social organisation, while the Pearsonian correlation of satisfaction with anomie was $-.534$.

No relationship was established according to belief in God, church attendance, or any social groupings other than those mentioned above.

The general pattern of formal social association seems to be a tendency to join after the second year following immigration, with the largest proportion of members of most groups coming from among those resident in the country between seven and eleven years. Although, for example, this category accounts for only 18.3% of the total adult population, it comprises 31.4% of drama-club memberships, and 27.4% of sports-club members.

Although the pattern obtained, one of increased proportional membership during approximately the first ten years of residence, supports the view that voluntary group membership is a factor in the assimilative process, the fact that the major increases in membership occur after the first two full years suggests that the breakthrough may follow rather than precede the critical

assimilative period. This again underlines the need to determine the nature of the causative chain from analysis of individual cases.

An examination has been made of social stratification in Salisbury. The majority not only responded that Rhodesia was 'classless', but were emotionally involved to the extent of declining to answer that part of the questionnaire concerned with class. Among the remainder who did respond, (60.6%) although there was no generally accepted classification, most respondents answered in conventional (upper-middle-lower) terms.

The myth of a classless society came to be accepted by the majority of immigrants after the first two years of residence.

The criteria in assessing class position seem to reflect social needs, particularly the need for social solidarity. Hence education, a visible feature of the European population and necessary for society's economic advance, was placed first, and country of origin, a direct threat to solidarity, was placed last.

When self-stratum choice was examined, tendencies were identified toward equalisation and to expansion. Those employed in socially lower-class occupations perceived themselves in middle-or upper-class positions, and the same tendency was observed, to a lesser extent, among the middle-class occupations. At the same time, there was a movement toward expanding the

occupational area covered by one's own perceived stratum.

Evidence of class rivalry was provided by the fact that almost half the entire sample (49%) accepted the proposition. An explanation for this situation and an account of its importance was given in the text.

Prestige indices were obtained for fifteen occupations.

Respondents who argued that Rhodesia was classless tended to be less satisfied with the country than those who accepted the existence of a class structure. The overall T-score for satisfaction was approximately 50 (by hypothesis), whereas the \bar{x} value for those replying to the class section of the questionnaire was 53.35. By inference, therefore, the mean satisfaction score for the remainder must have been lower than 50, and significantly different from the responders. When satisfaction was compared with self-stratum choice, those giving a conventional response scored very significantly above the overall mean, and more detailed analysis demonstrated that those identifying with the lower class were significantly less satisfied than those identifying with the upper class (see table 36.)

Although a close relationship between satisfaction and anomie has already been noted, the pattern for each is different. Whereas satisfaction increases with length of residence, mean anomia score differs from the overall sample norm only for those resident less than one year and for those born in the country.

It seems that the aspiration of immigrants is dissipated after the first year.

A relation was found between anomie and political affiliation. The greater the degree of anomie the more likely the individual to support a right-wing (racialist) party. Unlike satisfaction, this tendency was observed at both ends of the political spectrum.

For most white Rhodesians, good personal relations is the most important factor in the job-situation. There was, however, considerable disagreement regarding the comparative importance of the three factors listed, with 'good prospects for advancement' listed first by only 20% of the sample.

This concludes the formal presentation of results obtained from the questionnaire. Other findings, such as the importance of home-ownership and self-perceived changes in attitudes towards race problems, have been excluded in the interest of space. Nevertheless, where these have seemed relevant to the process of assimilation, they have been incorporated either directly in the following chapters, or indirectly, by helping to design the final stages of the research.

PART IV.

CHAPTER VI.The Study of Individual Cases.

This chapter is concerned with certain typical examples of a detailed study that was made of sixty individual cases.

From the original questionnaire, the twenty lowest scorers on the Satisfaction-scale who supplied their addresses and who were resident in the greater Salisbury area, were invited to co-operate. Twenty respondents among the modal scorers, and the twenty highest scorers, were also invited. Of the sixty individuals approached (where more than one member from the same household qualified, only one was considered), fortyone received the invitation and eventually^{*} accepted.

These fortyone comprised all twenty of the high-scorers, twelve of the modal-scorers and nine of the low-scorers. To compensate for the loss of the nineteen cases, and to form a control group which could be used to check against any possible bias from studying only those who had originally offered their co-operation, a number of original refusers and ten further cases selected at random from the Salisbury sample, were approached. After prolonged discussion and persuasion, nineteen of these were eventually persuaded to become subjects. Among these, eleven had originally declined and eight were controls.

* A follow-up letter was sent and, where necessary, a personal approach was made before acknowledging a refusal (or silence) to be final.

Tables 43 to 45 show the final composition of group case-studies.

TABLE 43.

Composition of Case Studies by Satisfaction Score.

	Low	Satisfaction Score.		
		Modal	High	TOTAL
From original respondents.	9	12	20	41
From original refusers.	6	5	0	11
From random controls.	0	5	3	8
TOTAL	15	22	23	60

TABLE 44.

Composition of Case Studies by Origin.

Country of Origin.	Low	Satisfaction Score.		
		Modal	High	TOTAL
U.K.	7	10	7	24
S.A.	4	6	9	19
S.R.	2	4	5	11
Elsewhere	2	2	2	6
TOTAL	15	22	23	60

TABLE 45.

Composition of Case Studies by Length of Residence

Length of Residence.	Low	Satisfaction Score.		
		Modal	High	TOTAL
Less than 3 years.	4	6	1	11
3/5 years	2	3	1	6
6/10 years	5	3	5	13
Longer than 10 years.	2	6	11	19
Born	2	4	5	11
TOTAL	15	22	23	60

It was important to know the proportion of case-studies according to country of origin, and length of residence in Rhodesia. Tables 44 and 45 which provide these details, reveal that not all the subjects were in fact immigrants. Eleven were born-Rhodesians. These were included for comparative purposes and because, in this unique social context, a non-assimilated born-Rhodesian was not a contradiction in terms.

The number of given variables, dependent, independent and intervening, inter-connections between the tests employed, additional material gathered but here excluded as not seeming directly relevant to the present enquiry, the richness and quantity of data, all these considerations have been excluded from the present study, except where they seemed directly relevant to considerations set forth in the next paragraph.

The present analysis has been focussed on the relationship that seemed to exist between nine lines of enquiry and four levels of the assimilative process. These four levels we have called discontent, satisfaction, migrational fulfilment, and assimilation. The extent to which these aspects are distinctive sequential phases of the assimilative process, will be determined as the analysis proceeds. The criteria for ascribing each was as follows:

Discontent required two conditions:

- (i) A satisfaction score falling in the first quartile (Q1)
- (ii) An affirmative response to the question 'If you had

the chance, would you return home?'

Satisfaction required one condition:

A satisfaction-score falling in the 50th percentile or above. This possibly high and somewhat arbitrary criterion seemed justified not as a definition, but as a method for ensuring that representative case-studies were indeed positively satisfied.

Migrational Fulfilment required four conditions:

Since the study was concerned more with the ingredients of successful immigration, than with the proportion of migrants falling into arbitrarily defined categories, the following requirements were specified, even though the number of subjects fulfilling these requirements, yet not showing complete assimilation, was very small.

(i) A satisfaction-score falling in the 70th percentile or above, and three of the following four questions concerning identification answered in a manner favourable to Rhodesia.

(ii) 'In a sporting contest between (a team from your native country) ^{*} and Rhodesia, whom in the heat of the moment, do you think you would support?'

(iii) 'Do you feel insulted when Rhodesia is insulted, and pleased when Rhodesia is praised?'

(iv) 'Do you feel completely at home in Rhodesia?'

✓ These questions were not asked consecutively.

* The country concerned was interpolated.

(v) 'Of what nationality do you feel yourself?'

Assimilation required three conditions:

(i) Migrational fulfilment.

(ii) Self-perceived similarity and equality with born-Rhodesians, together with the absence of any overt differences of aim, attitudes or behaviour between born-Rhodesians and the subject.

(iii) A score on the racial scale, falling within the second and the third quartiles of the general mean.

These four levels, together with the modal group (according to satisfaction-score) were compared with results obtained from the following eight lines of enquiry.

1. The migration process itself, with particular reference to (a) motivation, (b) expectation and (c) aspiration.

2. General biographic details.

3. The importance of specific personality variables, as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.*

4. The importance of specific personality variables, as measured by the F-Scale.

The thirty items comprising the third form of the F-scale

* It was originally planned to use the California Personality Inventory. The changeover to the EPPS was occasioned by frequent critical reference on the part of respondents to the 'Americanised' content of the CPI.

were used. (Forms 40 and 45, Table 7(VII), p.255-257 of The Authoritarian Personality). The normal method of scoring was employed along a seven point continuum, with 4.0 being the theoretical neutral point. Thus scores lower than 4.0 represented individuals rejecting more authoritarian statements than they accepted, while scores in excess of this figure indicated greater acceptance than rejection.

This test was included principally on account of the clear importance for assimilation of the acquisition of normative attitudes in race relations and of the hypothesized association between prejudice, ethnocentrism and personality variables supposedly captured by the F-scale. It seemed possible that a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction involving stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes towards outgroups might, in the Rhodesian context, be a positive advantage towards (a) rapid and (b) complete, assimilation.

5. The prevalence of generalised anxiety - reported to us by the medical profession - as measured by the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale.

6. The importance of general intelligence, as determined by the Wechsler Test of Adult Intelligence.

As it was impossible to obtain the most recently standardised WAIS test material, and because it was necessary to obtain

only an approximate guide, the test scores were rounded into the following categories:

Score.	Category.
Less than 106.	A
106 - 110	B
111 - 115	C
116 - 120	D
121 - 125	E
126 - 130	F
131 - 135	G
136 - 140	H
141 plus	I

This reduction in precision seemed warranted by the increased probability of genuine difference between non-adjacent grades. The comparatively high scores obtained may be attributable to the effects of selective migration.

7. The importance of social intelligence, as indicated by test 2 (recognition of the mental state of the speaker) and test 4 (observation of human behaviour) of the Washington Social Intelligence Test (2nd Edition).

8. Attitudes to current race problems, as determined by a semi-structured interview schedule. The first part was scored to produce a possible total with a range between 4 and 12, the higher number being the most favourable towards Africans.

In the following analysis there will be two crucial considerations:

(a) are there clear differences between these four groups, and (b) if there are, what are they? Alternatively, if there are not, where may the differences occur?

The presence of important individual differences, other than those included by definition, would substantiate the working definitions employed. On the other hand, individual analysis may invalidate some, or all, of the hypothesized assimilative levels, and may indicate alternative propositions.

In order to preserve continuity and to enable the analysis to be considered in context and perspective, the cases will be considered under the nine given headings, grouped according to the level of assimilation into which they fell.

A. Discontented.

All the low scorers selected for case-study who had been resident less than ten years, also satisfied the second criterion for this category.

Case Z 8 (Satisfaction Score: 44; Anomia: 6)

Migrational details. A married woman in her middle fifties who had come to Rhodesia ten years previously from South Africa. Generalised dis-satisfaction, occasioned in part at least by material ill-fortune and marital disharmony, had led to the view that if the family could migrate to another country, their general situation would be improved.

A measure of discontent stemming from personal causes was thus projected into a dislike of the country. This was particularly common among less contented immigrants from South Africa,

where the political excuse for emigration was, to Rhodesian ears, readymade and popular. Hence, the reason given for migration was the desire to 'get away from the Union and all the measures proposed by its Government'. Migration had been considered for 'a year or two' beforehand, and although the subject had travelled extensively in her pre-marital days, she now wished to remain in Southern Africa. Rhodesia had been selected automatically as being 'the obvious place'. There had been no previous contacts in the new country, in which she and her husband originally intended and, although discontented, still intended to remain. Material improvement was not, for this subject, a primary motive, although she hoped to be simply 'a housewife' as soon as it could be afforded, 'perhaps in five years'.

Biographical Details. This was a frank subject for whom the sessions seemed therapeutic, providing a welcome outlet for many thoughts and emotions which had considerable subjective significance.

Her parents she described as 'placid' and sharing common interests. Her own childhood was 'relatively happy'.

The subject felt that she had married beneath herself to a man having considerable practical ability but no business acumen. The husband was addicted to barbiturates on account of

migraines which were referred to openly by the family as 'Daddy's escape mechanism'. The family had lost everything in the slump that hit the Rhodesian building trade in the late fifties. Mr. Z had just launched a fresh business, but this had now been classified as falling within the term 'engineering'. This meant that he would be forced to pay his African locksmith £89. per month compared to his previous wage of £13. per month. Since the difference exceeded his own gross profit, he was unable to do this, and he was not permitted to apprentice the African since he himself was not a trained journeyman. The only solution was to make the African a Director; he could then pay him a wage of 65/- per week.

In the meantime the subject worked to keep the family, for, in spite of the fact that the oldest daughter was earning £1200 per annum, she refused to accept payment from any of her children.

The subject had one son whose brain was damaged at birth, making him a source of great disappointment to his practical but unsuccessful father. Her eldest daughter failed her Cambridge Certificate and the younger daughter was rebellious and becoming increasingly difficult.

The subject was very capable, ambitious and proud. She lost respect for her now submissive husband many years before, but had consistently struggled to force him along certain paths. She had found neither satisfaction nor 'fulfilment' in her husband,

nor, -until recently, -in her children.

During the time she was being interviewed, two traumatic experiences affected the subject's outlook.

The first was a sudden outcry from her retarded son, whom she had not imagined capable of feeling or integrated thought. 'Why do we have to suffer like this? Most people get pleasure from their children, but you don't get any. I'm made like this, no good to anybody, Nancy fails her Cambridge, Linda has to give up ballet because of fever, and you and Dad are always sick and squabbling.'

The second was a serious operation that, while on holiday in Johannesburg, she was informed would be necessary, but which she had refused to undergo. She returned to Rhodesia, depressed and exhausted, and planned to return with her family to the Union. However, her husband and children were all opposed to the idea and she realised that she had no right to spoil their lives by insisting. Without telling the family, she then let their house and reserved accommodation in a boarding house, to which they all moved during the series of interviews.

The subject felt that she had changed considerably as a result of these experiences. 'After battling all those years and getting nowhere, I have given up and feel quite resigned'. As a result of this resolution of the conflict, she felt happier and family life appeared to have benefitted.

The subject was more impressive and forceful than her husband, who looked ill, emaciated and submissive. She was aware, however, of a deep sense of frustration and failure.

In the past, she wished she had never left the Union and wanted to return, but since recently coming to terms with herself, she realised 'there were troubles everywhere and one can never get away from oneself'.

The problem of personal pride was also recognised. They felt they could never return to the Union 'not having made the grade'.

This was the picture of a personal tragedy. An unhappy marriage between a dominant, wilful, ambitious woman, and a man whose ability, temperament and social background combined in every way to deny the former's aspirations. There was ill-health on both sides and disappointment, some of it the result of their own unhappiness, from the children. The subject spoke of 'continual lack of security, like living on the edge of a volcano' and this feeling was communicated to and shared by, the entire family.

The details presented a mixture of ill-fortune, ill-health and incompatible temperament combining to produce misery.

Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

The subject's profile on this schedule is shown in Diagram

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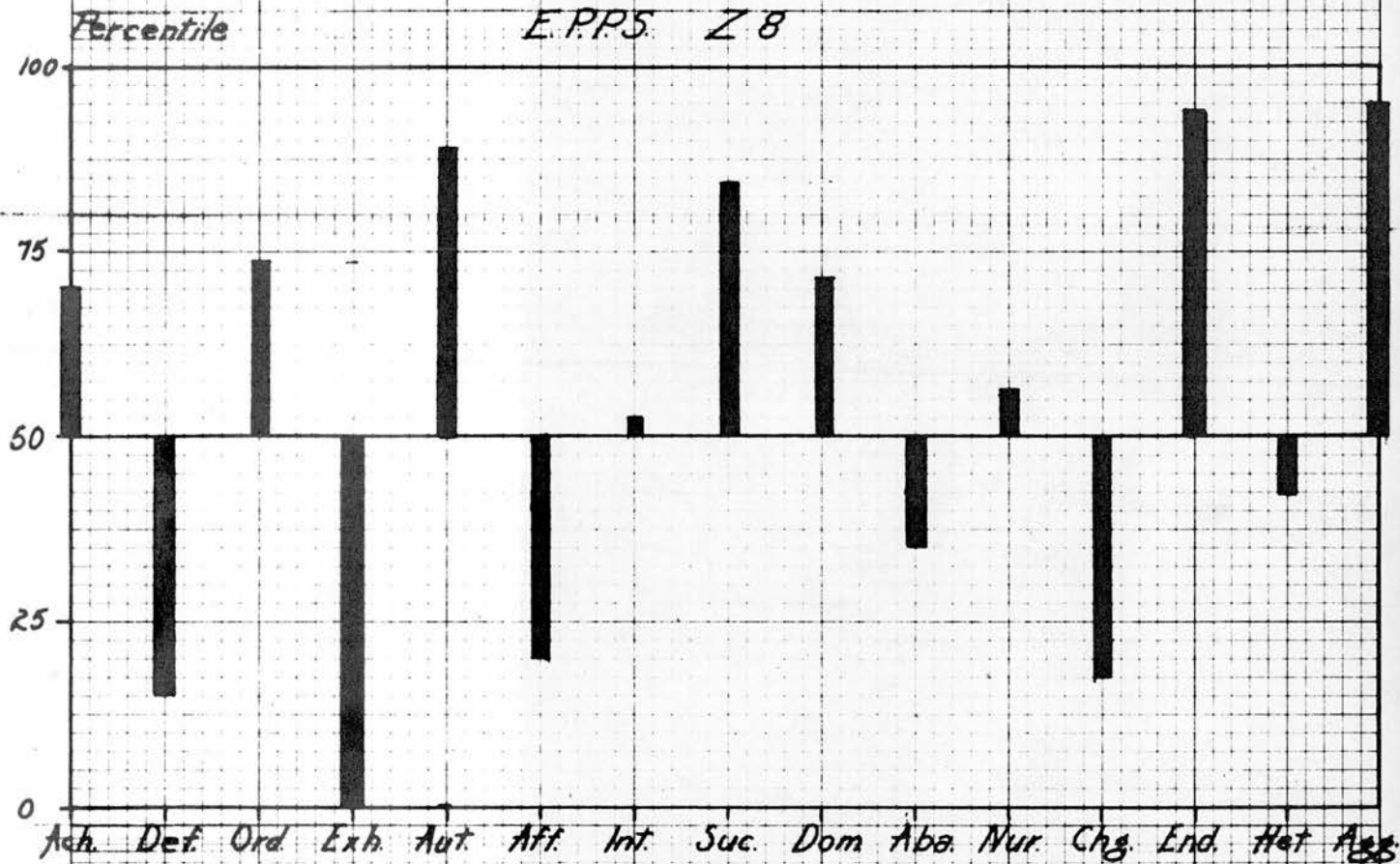


DIAGRAM 23

Detailed consideration of these scores will be left to the conclusion of this section since we are here only concerned with those variables that may be directly associated with assimilation. The extreme nature of this subject's scoring, however, is clearly shown.

The following were the scores obtained by this subject over the remaining five items.

F-scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social intelligence	Race
4.04	17	G	64	5

The low score obtained by this subject on the race questionnaire was confirmed by subsequent interview. The subject believed that Africans and Europeans could never understand one another, that racial partnership was impossible, and that race relations were rapidly deteriorating.

General

This subject identified herself with Rhodesia but her generalised dis-satisfaction caused a gradual withdrawal from all forms of social life. Discontent is based upon personal factors that had little or nothing to do with the new country. The subject is a strongly religious Jewess who found her work among this ingroup, and the 'general friendliness of the people' a great help during the first years following immigration. At the time of the interview, ten years after migration, there

remained a strong bond with the old country, friendships were retained and correspondence persisted, and at first she perceived resentment from others towards her status as an immigrant.

Her husband and her children all liked Rhodesia more than she did.

The sphere of interpersonal relations was of great importance to this subject and while emotions remained predominant-ly hostile, assimilation or even general satisfaction towards a new country was impossible. Thus, in answer to the question 'What are the most unpleasant and disturbing moods and feelings for you?' the subject replied, 'Tension in the house. My mother. My mother's voice. My husband's manners. My daughter's nonsense.'

The aggressive impulse, cognitively blind, was apparent in answer to the question 'What desires do you find most difficult to control?' The reply given was 'My temper'.

There was, she reflected, 'nothing in particular' about her present way of life that appealed to her, of which she enjoyed.

In brief, marital maladjustment, ill health, and economic misfortune, prevented any form of satisfaction. Assimilation without satisfaction may be said to be present to the extent that her racial attitudes, the major frame of reference in Rhodesia, had, as a South African, always approximated to the

norm of the new country. But her lack of interest in any form of group activity, outside her religion, her marked lack of enthusiasm towards the adopted country, these precluded any meaningful ascription of the term. There had been a total absence of any positive predisposition to adjustment.

Case 2 11 (Satisfaction Score: 43; Anomia: 6)

Migrational details. This subject, sixty years of age, was a medical practitioner, specialising in research and preventive medicine, with a history of enforced migrancy. In 1938 he had been compelled to leave Germany on account of his Jewish ancestry. Although accompanied by his wife and daughter, he was without financial resources. After only two months in South Africa, the immigration laws of that country necessitated a further move, and he then migrated to a British Protectorate where he was shortly afterwards accepted into the Government medical service. In 1958, he was seconded to Rhodesia for an indefinite period.

The subject had no contacts in the new country before arrival. He was most strongly motivated by professional and idealistic endeavour consonant with an extremely keen and scientifically-oriented intelligence.

Biographical Details. The subject was the only child of a happy marriage. Relationship with each parent was ambivalent, towards his mother he experienced fear and admiration on account of her great energy, at the same time he resented her corporal

punishment and was scornful of her 'silliness'. The subject did not believe that the mother had influenced him, in spite of her continuous efforts to do so. The influence of the father was considerable, he was held in high respect - 'a fine fellow' - both for his intelligence and, increasingly with the passage of time, for the relationship that the father fostered with his son. As a child the subject was 'very lonely' and suffered from a strong tendency to criticise others. A failure to live up to maternal expectations were at first projected on to others and later introjected with feelings of guilt, which a strong sexual urge did nothing to allay.

It was the lack of fulfilment of the need for friendship that led the subject to medicine. The desire to understand people and to increase his experience of inter-personal relationships became of over-riding importance.

The subject was a quiet, charming and very empathetic person who gave the appearance of having completely overcome these early difficulties. Nevertheless he seemed emotionally unstable and saw himself 'struggling in many ways'. The standards of conduct and aims he expected from himself and from others were both very high and his self-criticism was considerable. 'I am quite conscious that I have achieved something, but I am by no means satisfied about what I have achieved.* I will never be satisfied about myself.' His demands from life would

* This man is in fact a world authority on one particular widespread tropical disease.

seem to be (a) a deep and lasting human relationship, (b) the opportunity to pursue his professional calling in a creative capacity, and (c) the opportunity for aesthetic enjoyment, especially of visual art and music. His self-criticism, reinforced by a strict religious adherence, trained objectivity and discerning intelligence, enabled him to distinguish between these factors, so that relative failure in any one sphere was not generalised into general dis-satisfaction or disillusionment.

E.P.P.S.

The following were the scores obtained by this subject for the remaining five items:

F-scale.	Anxiety.	Intelligence.	Social Intelligence.	Race.
3.60	5	1	71	7

General.

Since coming to Rhodesia he felt he had been able to enjoy an easier life, with more advanced social amenities. Professionally, the prospects were regarded as stable, while the scope and interest of his work had greatly increased. His social status had improved, partly on account of living in a cultural environment where the importance of medical research was generally recognised, and partly because of the increased responsibility he now enjoyed.

The disappointments about living in Rhodesia had been the lack of popular interest in science that he had found, and

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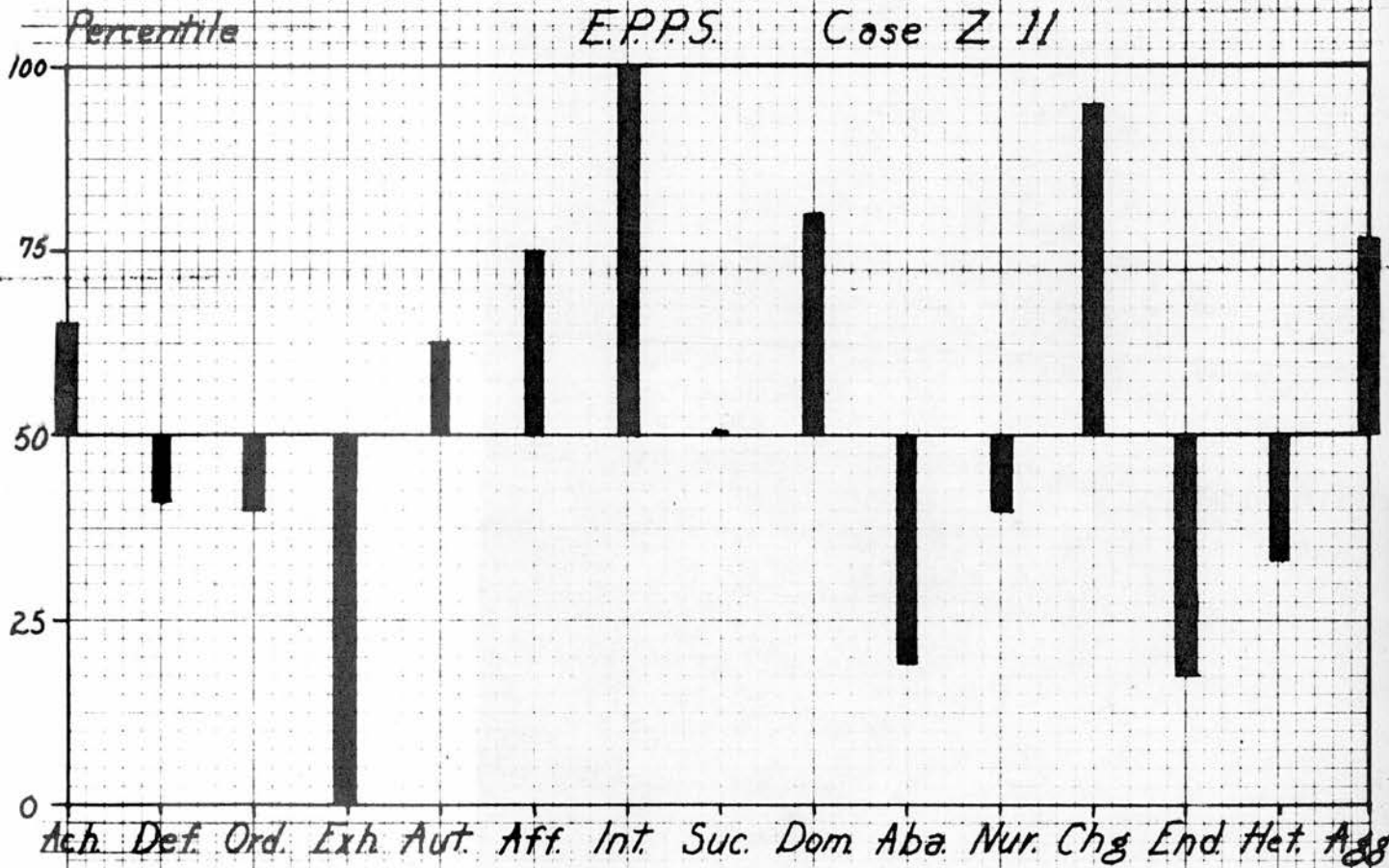


DIAGRAM 24

what the subject referred to as the 'inferior human material'. He also missed opportunities for enjoying art and music and was profoundly depressed by the lack of respect and understanding between the races. The subject reported experiencing no particular difficulties in originally settling down, and although not a member of any club or society, he had made one or two close friends, most of them among the Jewish community.

In the sphere of inter-personal relationships, the subject found complete lack of understanding, not only between Africans and Europeans, but also between Rhodesian-born whites and himself. He found the former 'too apathetic, too lazy' to try to understand someone alien and different from themselves.

In this case, a clear distinction could be drawn between subjective aspiration and an attempted objective evaluation of the social situation. In personal status, in his successful marriage, and in professional opportunity, this subject was satisfied, but in the sphere of extra martial human relations, he was frustrated, pessimistic and oppressed. Throughout the long series of interviews, the intense conflict between the ideal and the actual was continuously apparent. This was true, inwardly, towards his own life, and outwardly, towards the country in which he found himself. The concept of genuine partnership between the races was a glowing ideal and yet 'the present population is completely unable to mix properly, and it is entirely unsuited to partnership'. Thus whatever may be the deeper, clinical reasons for this pattern of conflict

and whether the subject would be satisfied with any country in which he lived, psychological issues were of primary importance in determining the possible degree of assimilation. The detailed lists of criticisms and disappointments were, from this point of view, merely the rationalisation which covered a psychological barrier to assimilation. The critical nature of the Rhodesian situation, however, provided unusual opportunities for personality patterns of this type to express themselves overtly. In an unstable social and political environment, personal instability was disguised less easily and experienced more intensively.

The recent onset of a serious heart condition had apparently affected neither his attitude, nor his behaviour, although it may have helped crystallise both. His wish to leave Rhodesia was conditional upon equal opportunities becoming available elsewhere, but it had been weakened by his brief expectation of life. He was anxious, although not obsessed, by the racial conflict that he thought imminent. With needs so internalised and in a profession so demanding, inclusive and satisfying, the customary problems of assimilation and socialisation seemed for this subject much less important.

Case 1156 (Satisfaction Score: 44; Anomie: 4)

Migrational details. This subject was a male immigrant from Britain, aged 35, who, at the time of the analysis, had been resident in Rhodesia for seven years. He had come to

Rhodesia because of anticipated opportunities, and a better climate. At the time he was married, although with no children. His last job in Britain had been as a toolmaker. He had considered migrating to Australia and South Africa for five years before finally selecting S. Rhodesia. The choice was determined by the persistent recommendations of a friend, culminating in the promise of employment. Before he arrived he had one set of friends in the country, but no relatives. He himself had had no previous overseas experience except for three years' war service in India. When he arrived he expected 'to stay a lifetime' but at the time of the interview he was seriously considering leaving within a year, and a booking had already been made.

In one year he expected no change in his way of life and in ten years he expected to be still in the selling business.

Biographical Details. An ingenuous, uncomplicated personality in search of security that he had not yet found.

A happy childhood had been enjoyed in a contented home. At school he was a quiet boy of about average ability with little personal initiative. He did not regard friends as being an important part of life, and made little effort to acquire them, preferring to move about anonymously as a member of a gang.

Although he had no unemployment record*, this subject had

* In Britain the subject has been a clerk, a cinema operator, a bookmaker's clerk, a bar steward and an engineering apprentice.

been employed in six different jobs during his seven years in Rhodesia. His previous post with the R.R.A.F. was a contractual one of three years that he had declined to renew. He did not enjoy service life and anticipated a larger financial reward as an insurance agent in which capacity he now worked.

He was finding it impossible to save and lived in a flat near the city centre. Previously the family had been living in a house, but his income could not withstand the strain of employing two African servants. His wife had never worked, largely because of the subject's conviction that 'a wife's place is in the home, particularly if there are children. When a man gets married, it is his responsibility to provide for his family, otherwise he should not take it on'.

In Britain, he supported the Liberal Party, in Rhodesia he supported the Government. He was nominally an Anglican, but his religious interest was weak and he never went to church.

The subject considered that there was very little difference between Europeans in Rhodesia. 'I can do anything that practically anyone else in the country can do'.

The main changes in his way of life consequent upon migration he saw as (a) that in Rhodesia he owned a car, (b) he now had a daughter, (c) he lived in a flat instead of a house, and (d) he no longer considered engineering as his means of income; now it was selling, in which direction he felt his prospects were much improved.

Apart from weekend excursions into the bush, he no longer partook of any leisure interests outside the family. In Britain, on the other hand, they used often to go to the cinema, and the local rep. He believed that his social position had changed, largely due to the change of occupation which he did not think would have occurred had he remained in Britain. He was earning 'a lot more money and I can afford things easier (sic)'.

In Rhodesia he found that his friends were dispersed throughout the country. In 1956, his brother had also emigrated from Britain to Rhodesia, and he too had recently contemplated returning back again.

This subject had not been disappointed in Rhodesia, apart from the fact 'that the position was vastly different three or four years ago from what it is today'. The things he missed most were his friends and relatives, the beauty of the English countryside. At first settling down had been difficult, due mainly to problems of accommodation and different methods of working. The general conditions in engineering were bad, especially the ratio of wage to the cost of living, and the hours worked and absence of overtime. The subject thought that the absence of any influential trade union (outside the Railways and Mines) rendered the general situation more favourable to employer than to employee. The under-capitalisation of business enterprise was also blamed.

He belonged to no voluntary organisations of any kind, either

in the old or the new country. He had made several close friends in Rhodesia; these varied in income ('some are lower and quite a few are much higher') and in length of residence. All were immigrants of between four and eight years' standing. He and his wife continued to keep in close touch with relatives in Britain, although only his wife continued to retain contact also with old friends.

The subject had not detected any significant differences between himself and born-Rhodesians. He regarded the latter as open-minded. 'They don't like an immigrant who groans, which is natural enough, and they don't like criticism which is also natural enough. They have a welcoming attitude. They are pleased to have us here, if we want to be here'. He considered that the best equipped residents to deal with the country's problems were born-Rhodesians who 'understand the problems and the African better than what we do, if that is possible'. The subject considered twenty years were needed before an immigrant could understand the problems of local trade.

Although he felt himself British, the team he would support in an international contest would depend on the type of contest. He supposed it would be Rhodesia, where he lived, and added as an explanation 'most Englishmen have a tendency to back the small man'. He confessed to identifying himself with Rhodesia when that country was criticised or praised, and reported feeling 'completely at home' in the country, a sentiment shared by his wife. If he had had a son, he would have liked him to be a

doctor - an occupation the subject placed fourth in his prestige list.

His own personal health record had been good, but his wife had suffered severely from hayfever, lasting for about six months each year. This had been a contributory factor in their decision to leave, although not a 'deciding factor'. Both he and his wife required more sleep in Rhodesia, and his wife had become more 'nervy', particularly disliking to be left in the home alone. He had experienced no crisis since emigrating except the change of occupation/which he believed had been successfully resolved.

In his own racial attitudes there had been no change. His wife, however, was at first more sympathetic to the African. She had been prepared to accept him as an equal. This was no longer the case and he thought the reason for her change was the effect of immediate experience, 'having a boy in the house'.

He considered the racial situation to have deteriorated since his arrival, but only on the African side. 'The African knows that world opinion is on his side and although partnership has been in seven years, he does not think he is getting his equal share. As far as Africans are concerned, it is a question of 'haves' and the 'have-nots' and (they) are among the have-nots'.

The advice he would give a prospective immigrant would be: 'Come here with an open mind and be prepared to stand on his own feet and not expect everybody to carry him about. If he loses

his job or if his circumstances change, be prepared to do something about it, and quick at that'.

Concerning the future of Rhodesia, he believed that it would settle down. He saw it not as a question of whether the African would take over, but when.

His primary reason for wishing to return 'home' was the very unsettled condition of the country. 'One cannot buy a house with the certainty that it won't devalue'. He considered that 'as things are in the U.K.' his prospects would be good. He intended starting a small retail furnishing business, which, with limited capital, he thought would have a better chance of succeeding than in contemporary Salisbury. 'But', he added, 'if I don't like the weather and the general trend, then I shall go to Australia'. He would have gone to Australia at once, had it been possible to wait less than two years for a booking.

E.P.P.S. The following were the scores obtained by this subject for the remaining five items.

F-scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race.
4.73	9	F	68	5

General.

The general pattern of this case-study illustrated certain common and important characteristics of immigrant-life.

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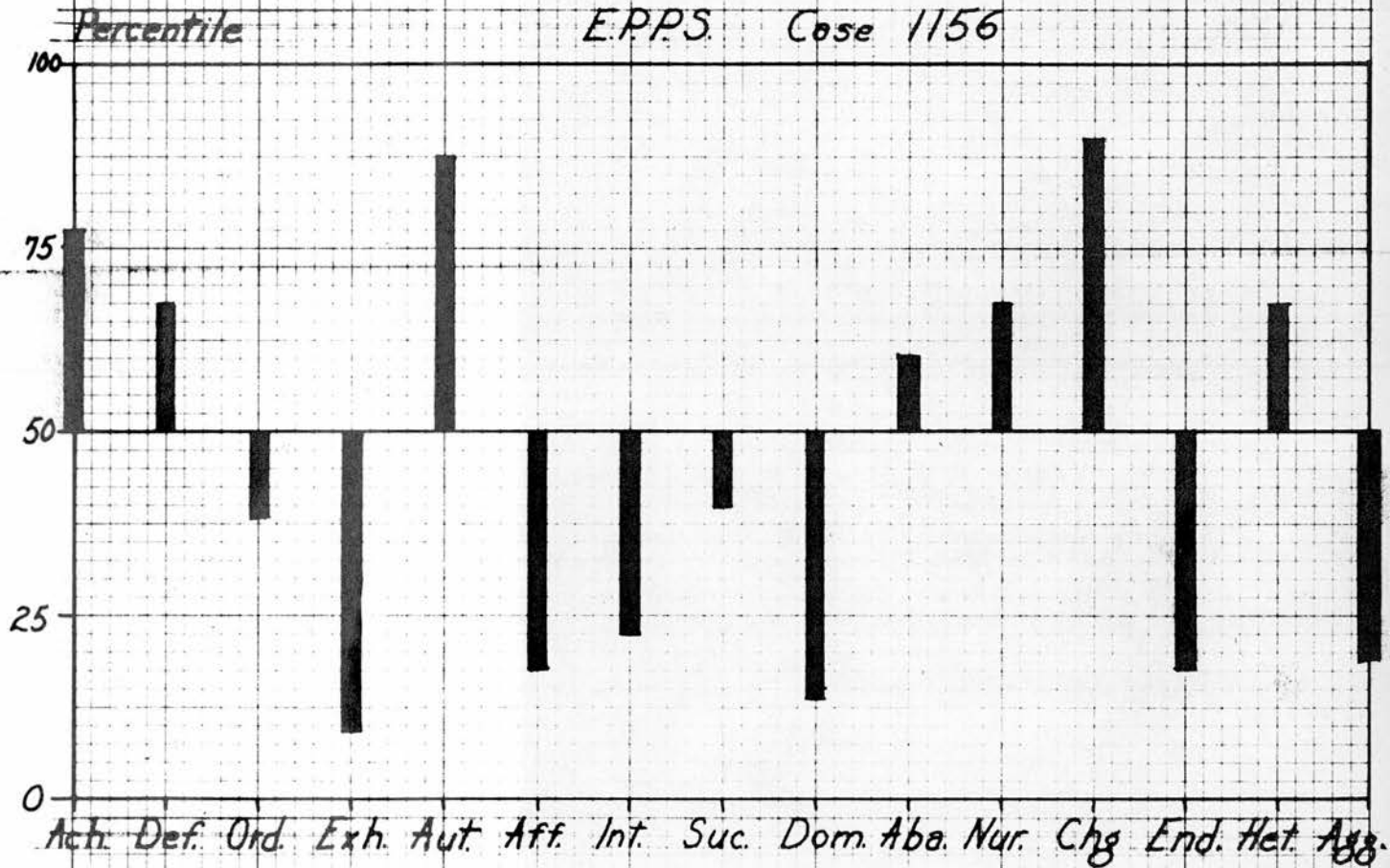
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DIAGRAM 25

1. The primary motive for migration was the need to achieve greater material success.
2. The act of physical transition to a country where the migrant found himself, automatically a member of a power-wielding in-group, fighting to retain its privileges against a numerically much stronger out-group, and consequent initial difficulties, heightened the need for security.
3. Rhodesia had been chosen on the recommendation of a friend, and other members of the migrant's family had followed his example.
4. The initial difficulties were seen by the migrant as mainly those of housing and different conditions of employment.
5. The significance within white Rhodesian society of personal status based upon material possessions increased as the new immigrant enlarged his sphere of social contact. The pace of the status race grew hotter the longer one continued to run.
6. For immigrants from Britain who were predisposed to accept a materialist orientated culture and a racially prejudiced climate of opinion, migrational success (the fulfilment of the immigrant's main social and economic needs) was generally more dependent upon personal factors than upon social factors. Migrational motives were generally, as with this subject, personal in nature, and the factors that determined their satisfaction were, by the same token, equally personal.

7. Following from this, the most likely causes of failure (dis-satisfaction) among immigrants from Britain were either (a) an inability to acquire or accept prevalent attitudes and behaviour in race relations, (b) a failure to retain the status position demanded by life in the new society and the hungry requirements of a social ambition nourished by group values. In certain cases, these new aspirations undermined stability, producing personal disorganisation and acute anxiety.

8. In this case, the emphasis on material achievement and the strongly felt need for security had been thwarted. The subject had been forced to sacrifice a house for a flat, and, unlike most Europeans, he employed no African servants. The political future was interpreted pessimistically.

9. There had been a restriction in the subject's sphere of general interest and a resultant focalisation upon family life. He did not enjoy the bundu, the characteristic natural setting of the new country, so that leisure time was spent mostly at home. Yet, in common with many discontented whites, he listed the lack of a rich home life as one of the bad things about Rhodesia. The explanation of this apparent anomaly is that although more time was spent within the home, a number of factors made variety and richness less. Among these the main ones would seem to be:

1) Climate - warm days and mild evenings caused more frequent and intense fatigue after the day's labour. They also obviated, at least for nine months of the year, the need for a

hearth, the focal point of family life.

ii) Servants - the presence of African domestic help discouraged parental intimacy and enabled wives to follow interests outside the home.

iii) Working wives, encouraged by the need for status and, therefore, income, were made more numerous by the presence of domestic help. Wives and mothers who had been working all day in a sub-tropical climate were not likely to seek or offer much physical or mental stimulation in the evening. Among 83 Salisbury residents who were asked the question, 60 said they retired to bed at 10 p.m. or earlier.

iv) An immigrant population and an 'open' (white) society meant that friendships were generally casual and seldom of many years' standing. Personal relationships were nearer the cocktail party cabinet than the postprandial armchair, a situation enhanced by the inexpensiveness of the drink and the high cost of the chair.

10. This case-study had experienced no difficulty in accepting normative attitudes on racial problems.

11. A contributory cause for dis-satisfaction was the health of the subject's wife. Physically, she suffered from an allergic condition very common in Central Africa, while mentally she had become 'nervy' and disliked being alone in the home. Although local medical opinion was undecided whether there was

a causal connection between altitude and anxiety, the rising rate of convictions for crime and petty misdemeanour among domestic Africans, led to increased nervousness, particularly among European women.

In addition to these considerations, which have been taken as exemplars for many similar cases, the following facts specific to this subject were noted.

A. The horizontal occupational mobility of this subject, the amount of change, conflicted with the search for security. There was also a high 'change' score (90th percentile) on the E.P.P.S.

B. There was a noticeable pre-occupation with material achievement. This may have been associated with an assertion of masculine independence that caused the refusal to allow his wife to work and a wish to seek self-employment in the future.

An independent measure of autonomy and pre-occupation with achievement was supplied by a high Aut. score on the EPPS. Also in answer to the projective question 'What, if anything, gives you a feeling of awe?' the subject replied in terms of great natural force and grandeur (The Grand Canyon, Niagara, Victoria Falls, Everest).

C. Throughout the series of interviews the subject made no reference to internalised needs. Again, the most embarrassing experiences centred around the notion of being caught acting in

either an unconventional or immoral manner. It was the act of detection that was blamed, not the act itself.

D. Towards the new country, there was partial identification without satisfaction. This suggested that the latter was not a necessary precursor of the former. It was possible to identify even when actively contemplating departure. Ego-involvement, in any case not strong, had been unaffected by the desire to depart, perhaps because it had never been strong enough to exert any influence to remain, and also because dissatisfaction was perceived by the subject as material and inevitable rather than moral or nationally reprehensible. Further reinforcement was provided by the fact that Rhodesia had added to the subject's perceived status and standard of living. The material values had been introcepted and therefore a measure of involvement had been retained with their cultural source. Seward has argued that strong punishment at the onset of an identity process may establish a negative set which prevents identification from occurring. Richardson reports that 'identification conceived as a generalised "set to imitate" is the necessary prerequisite for acquiring the actual content of the new culture (acculturation)', and favours the view 'that more or less acute insecurity is the main condition that serves as the motivational basis of identification'. The present case history suggested that introception is more likely to be a necessary prerequisite than insecurity in certain environments. There was little confirmation for Richardson's view that identification results in an increase of security. To commensur-

ate increase in extent of identification with insecurity was seen here as largely a compensatory mechanism. The regret expressed by this subject that he should be contemplating emigration when he thought the country needed mass immigration, contained an element of guilt. If he had had a son who lived in Rhodesia and who returned to Britain intermittently he would 'certainly expect him to regard Rhodesia as home and his country.'

E. From the emigrational standpoint it was characteristic and unfortunate that the subject considered his prospects in Britain good*. He had, however, taken no measures to examine this matter in detail.

This blind resolve to re-emigrate, whether due to rationalised hope or insufficient foresight and initiative, or a combination of these, was the main reason for the comparatively large numbers of erstwhile migrants to Rhodesia who returned a second time. (A Government spokesman reported that during 1959 and 1960, between 50 and 100 of these cases were returning to Southern Rhodesia each month, and that the majority had originally left as a result of pressure from bored housewives whose unhappy memories had faded in the gloom of nostalgia.)

Case Z 14 (Satisfaction Score: 40; Anomie: 4)

Migrational Details. This subject was a married, forty-year old housewife who had emigrated with her husband and two

* His chosen future, the retail furniture trade, was at the time among the most uncertain and economically vulnerable.

daughters eleven years previously. They had left Britain because occupational prospects were not good, because (she said) of a shared spirit of adventure, and because a family friend had persuaded them to grasp the opportunities of Rhodesia. They finally decided to go about a year after the first thought, and in the light of a firm offer of employment. They knew no-one in Rhodesia when they arrived, the friend having left in the interim. They came to Rhodesia with the intention to remain 'indefinitely' and now proposed to stay for as long as the authorities allowed them. The subject did not think that their way of life or social position had altered, except for a slight improvement in their standard of living.

Biographical details. This subject was a Quaker who, during the war, had been a conscientious objector.

The relationship between her parents had not been a happy one. Her mother was an ardent churchgoer whereas her father, an insurance clerk, was always very critical of established religion. Her father's discipline was feared and she had many unpleasant memories from her early childhood.

For the present study, the significant aspect of this case was the attitudes and behaviour of the subject towards the racial problem. Although retaining a national identification with England, she was now identified emotionally with the African cause. She was a member of the African National Congress and the National Democratic Party, and had been actively engaged in

helping to frame and circulate their respective constitutions. As a result of this political activity, she had become a person of importance. The police had raided her home, visiting Members of Parliament, from Britain, stayed in her house, and her behaviour in these matters generally provided the gossip of the neighbourhood. She was ostracised by her neighbours, while the majority of her friends were African politicians. More than this, the value of her help and guidance was recognised by many African leaders. Within her elected in-group she was an ideological leader.

The subject and her husband, a clerk, had been unhappy in the country to begin with. They were surprised by the high cost of living and the difficulty of saving, they missed being able to enjoy holidays by the sea, but, worst of all, they 'did not feel at home with the Colonial type'. They considered returning home but when they discovered 'they had become accepted by the Africans' they decided to stay for as long as the government would permit.

The subject stated that she did not 'really' feel at home in Rhodesia, and she tried to keep in touch with friends and relatives 'at home', although she herself now hoped that she could remain in Africa. She was a member of seven voluntary organisations, three of them religious, two social (and multi-racial) and three political (and predominantly African).

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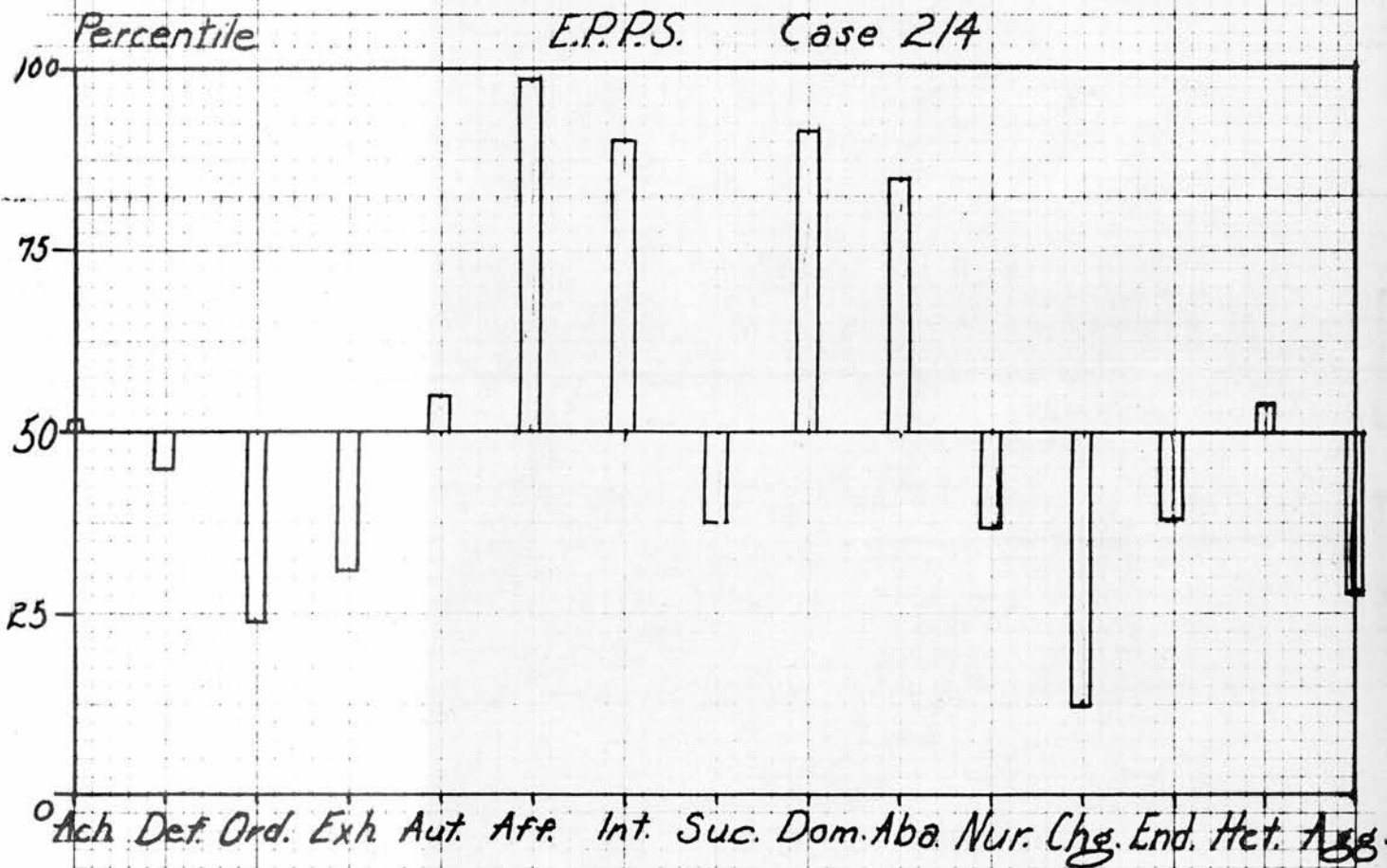


DIAGRAM 26

E.P.P.S.

The following were the scores obtained by this subject for the remaining five items:-

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
3.97	5	D	72	8

General.

This subject and her family had not materially prospered by migration. But as the likelihood of their migrational motives being frustrated became apparent to them, there had grown the opportunity to transfer their emotional and moral allegiance to the African cause. The rejection of white society and its most cherished social values had meant active rejection by that society and had also implied the acceptance of a socially ambivalent position. In psychological terms, her manifest needs to be able to identify herself with a moral cause and to be a dominant member of a group had been satisfied. In sociological terms, by accepting this new role as a member of an out-group she had acquired positive identification and high status within the new group. She aspired to transmit new values and had achieved this aspiration through peaceful and full acceptance. Thus the position had been reached whereby only through identification with an external group and by positive rejection of her own society, life had become not only tolerable but happy in the new country. This demonstrated that in this

particular social environment at least, it was not the acceptance of new normative frames of reference that was important, but the acceptance of a frame of reference which, although atypical, fulfilled the deepest needs of a given personality. Conformity had been rejected and partial assimilation had been made possible because of this rejection. At the same time, the immigrant was neither satisfied nor had identified with the country. Thus it remained true that only by a positive rather than a negative attitude towards the values and members of the group of origin could migrational fulfilment be obtained. However, by placing the emphasis here on the process of assimilation, we may be in danger of missing the most important psychological and social points. Psychologically, the personality needs of this type of immigrant were more completely fulfilled than they had been before migration. Within the dynamic social conflict pattern through which they acted themselves out, and within which they were given ample opportunity, these personality needs were more likely to achieve fulfilment than in a passive or even Utopian-type society.

Socially, although assimilation, migrational fulfilment and even satisfaction were perhaps impossible, it was at least arguable that the presence of such socially unabsorbed individuals was likely to help rather than hinder that society's most difficult and urgent problems. By showing that a migrant can be personally satisfied but nationally dis-satisfied, this case also raised doubts concerning the validity of the term

'satisfaction' in the sense that it has been used.

Thus, by considering psychological and sociological factors in conjunction, a more exact analysis can be made. This may sometimes locate obscurities and question basic assumptions. It also raises the problem of perspective. Psychological explanations may depend upon sociological facts and vice versa; by considering both, the extent of this dependence (and inter-dependence) and a full understanding of each become more nearly possible.

Case 199 (Satisfaction Score: 14; Anomia: 9)

Migrational details. This thirty-seven year old married South African woman had the second lowest satisfaction score in the total sample.

She and her husband(both now Rhodesian citizens) had migrated to Rhodesia from the Union nine years before the analysis because her husband, who had been a torch commando, was informed by the police that he was a marked man. Rhodesia was the nearest place to go and 'we are British'. Although they had no previous close contacts in the new country, several distant relatives were living there. She retained contact with relatives in South Africa, which she visited each year.

When she first arrived in the new country everything was different to expectation. Nevertheless, her first return there reassured her that she would never want to live in the Union

again. At that time she expected to spend the rest of her life in Rhodesia, but she now 'wishes very much to go back to the Union'. Their house had been sold and their present accommodation was rented.

Consequent upon migration their way of life had become easier, but their prospects remained similar. She found that the cost of living was about the same as she had been used to, although she earned far more in Johannesburg. Her husband was at first disappointed by the impossibility of finding employment of a kind for which he was trained, but he was now reconciled to the fact and had recently taken a good job as a salesman.

Biographical details. An only child, she had spent an unhappy childhood, mainly with her grandparents after her father had divorced his wife when the subject was seven. She was terrified of her mother, an authoritarian headmistress, had sympathised with her father. He had died when the subject was fourteen, and it was because of her unhappiness with her mother that she had remained with her grandparents. The subject said she had been a naughty child, although nervous and reserved. When she went to a party she would pray that no-one would invite her to dance.

In Rhodesia, the subject was working full-time in a lawyer's office, sending her young son to a crèche in the morning. She did not approve of 'multi-racialism' and had been made increasingly anxious by developments in the Congo and in the Union. She

was an active member of the right-wing Dominion Party, and was strongly critical of Rhodesian education, especially regarding discipline, largely due to unfortunate experiences with her son, and of Rhodesian health services which she described as 'appalling'. A recent operation had cost her £250.

Her religious convictions were 'mild' (no church affiliation) but her political convictions were 'very strongly' held and her leisure activities were political in character.

She worked because she 'couldn't bear to stay at home all day'. Her closest friends all lived nearby, most of them had more money than herself, and all came from the Union.

Although her personal health was poor, she did not think this was connected with Rhodesia, whose climate was one of the strongest influences in favour of remaining.

The subject obviously feared the African, toward whom, as a group, she felt active distrust. She thought they 'had to be kept in their place. Often they are shrewder than we whites and there are so many of them'. She would never allow her child to attend the same school as a 'native' or permit one into her home, except as a servant. Housing must always be kept separate.

Although a Rhodesian citizen, with a Scottish father and an Afrikaans mother, she continued to feel herself South African. 'South Africans are much more friendly than Rhodesians or Englishmen'. She commented that when they were building their new house and breaking in the garden, none of the neighbours even

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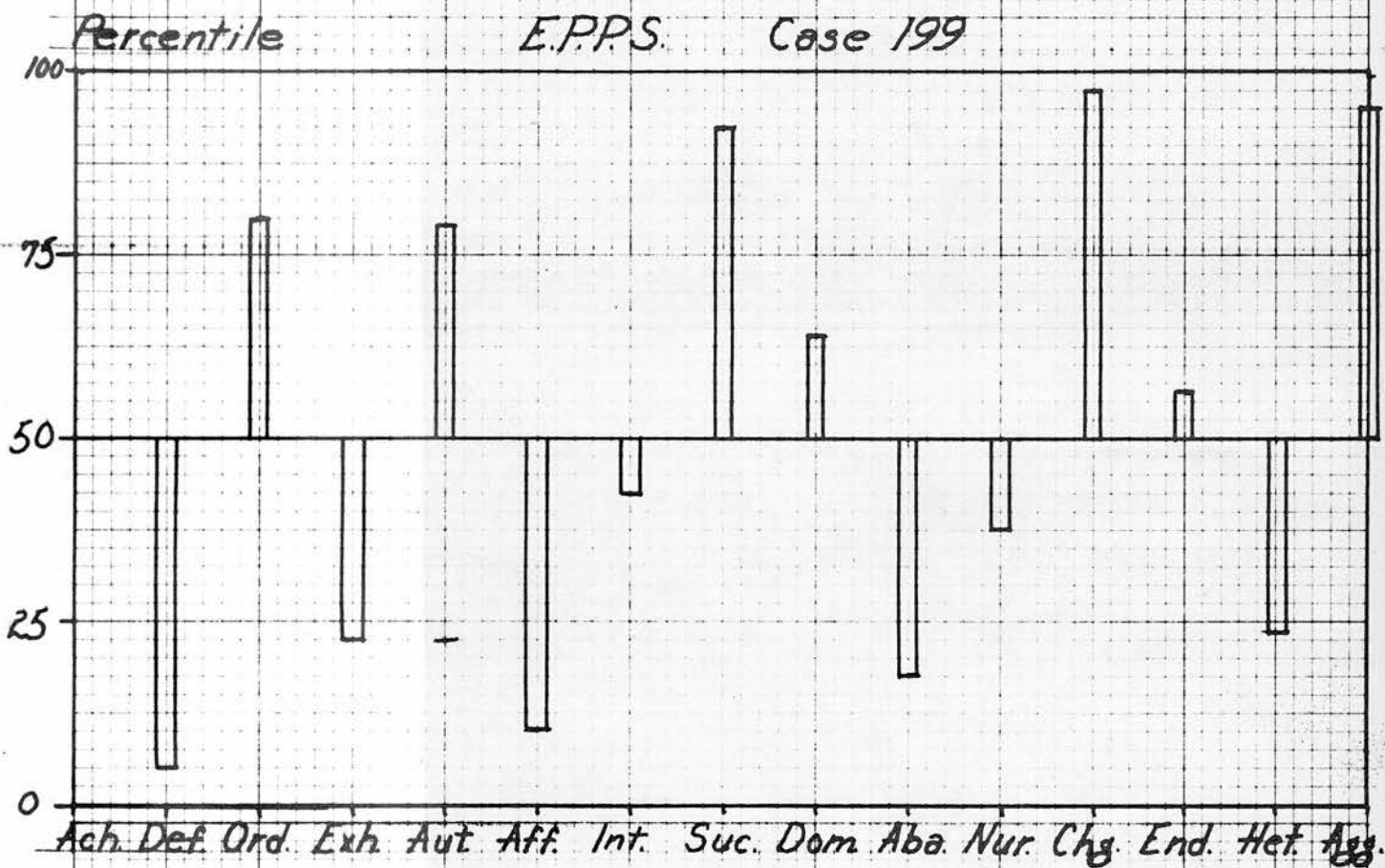


DIAGRAM 27

offered them tea, except one Jewish family.

In spite of the strength of her extreme political opinions, this subject commented on the poor medical and educational facilities for Africans in Rhodesia. She felt extremely worried about the future, especially for her son. Although she remarked, 'I have had my life', she was in fact still only thirty-seven.

The subject's scores on the remaining five tests were as follows:

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race.
5.10	16	C	64	4

In further replies concerning race relations, the subject said that Africans 'don't mean bad; they can't help it'. African housing areas must be kept separate, the alternative was chaos. Africans could not be given the same wage for the same job, since this would cause their standards to rise, forcing the European out; 'then they'll like what we like'.

General.

The subject was markedly ethnocentric, with a rate of stereotypy considerably above average. Her political and racial convictions were strongly grounded in fear and economic insecurity. Contributing to these views the association between pride and prejudice was a close one, the subject categorised levels of society so that the existence of a class perceived as lower than her own, with 'inferior' standards and abilities,

gratified her affirmation of superiority. The fact that this class could be identified by inspection (skin colour) added to its convenient and ready acceptance.

Continuous financial crises, occasioned by ill-health, the higher cost of living and her husband's occupational difficulties, had precipitated the wish to leave the country. The more stringent racial laws in the Union meant relief from insecurity. For this subject, identification with the country inferred concurring in race policies that she was unable to accept, either by personal predisposition or social conditioning. ('I was brought up never to mix with an African or a coloured').

The proximity of the old country with the consequent comparative ease of returning and of having this possibility continuously in mind, weakened the pressures to succeed among migrants from S.Africa. The question arises what is the highest potential level of general satisfaction for this type of subject? We have noted the agonies of a broken home, the dislike mixed with envy of the mother ('she was clever and generous and did a lot of good works' - 'I'd like to have studied medicine and done something useful'), the shyness ('I used to die a thousand deaths. What you go through as a young girl'), then the loneliness ('No-one to speak to all day'), the emotional instability ('one day happy and the next upset for no apparent reason'), the introjected frustration and self-criticism ('I seem to do everything wrong. Wish I could control my temper ... wish I were more placid, my muddled impracticability'), the morbid preoccupation with health. The conflict

between security and prejudice on the one hand, and aesthetic sensitivity and idealism on the other ('native mentality, not only difference in skin, a born difference', 'soon they will be competing', - 'I get the most pleasure in life out of my children and music and painting', 'Africans should be taught civilised ways and trained in skills so as to better themselves and make their life happier').

In the subject's own words, 'I would be a lot happier if I didn't allow things to get on top of me rather than me on top of them'.

In cases where a strong degree of neuroticism militates against personal happiness, psychological factors are likely to be more important in determining migrational success than sociological ones. Prejudice, it has been said, is all things to all men. The last two case-studies have demonstrated that the social environment can be moulded in many directions when reacted upon by different personalities.

Case 603. (Satisfaction Score 11; Anomia 10)

The final study of a discontent is that of a Rhodesian-born fifty-five year old storeman earning £900 per annum.

This case is given in detail since it offers a valuable insight into the problem of the dis-satisfied indigenous poor whites, and of the relationship between them and the rest of the white community, into which the born-Rhodesian as well as the

immigrant has to adjust.

His parents had come to Rhodesia, where ten children had been born to them. The father had died when the subject was only seven, and it was mother whose influence he regarded as the greatest. He was kept under strict supervision and was one of a friendship group of five who for many years went on hunting trips together.

A pensioner off the railways, for the last 7 years he had been working in a bakery as storeman. He was a class 1 driver on the railways, but conditions became so bad that he left. 'The government took over the railways and there was no more efficiency - instead of one official you had hundreds - too many bosses'. Expected to have the same job in a year but would want to retire about then - did not want to go on after 60. Then would stay in Rhodesia if there was no black government. Between 1918 and 1925 he had been a baker and confectioner, working from 4 a.m. to 5 p.m. for £20 a month. The wages attracted him to the railways - £19 a month for a 7 hour day, with time and a half on Sundays: he had started as a fireman and was on the footplate for 29 years and had been unemployed only a week or so. Could now save a bit - 'only me and the wife left'. He had four children: two sons lived in Salisbury and were both lift mechanics for Waygood Otis, one daughter a housewife in Gatooma: the other daughter was adopted and lived in England with her husband whom she met in Rhodesia during the war. The subject had no political affiliation; firmly believed that it

was useless to vote. He was required to reregister before Federation but did not - believing this to be a trick of Huggins to get Federation through in the hope that Rhodesians would ~~xxx~~ register. 'Federation is a proper out and out swindle; he never got a two thirds majority; only the civil servants voted'.

The subject told a very long story of how, as he believed, he had been swindled out of a £5,000 legacy by estate agents who were in league with various government officials - an S.R. Cabinet Minister and others, many of them. About this, he had interviewed, inter alia, the Federal Prime Minister, the Federal Minister of Law, the Territorial Minister of Justice. Sir Roy, he said, (an old friend) was 'as cunning as you can make him'. 'The whole country is tied up like this', he said, clenching his fists together, 'with a bundle of crooks'. Dendy Young, had once said to him 'I'm sorry, old man, we live in a country where there is no justice or no law'.

In religion, the subject was a Wesleyan although his wife was Dutch Reformed - he learned Afrikaans and went to church with her. Both sons were Presbyterian. 'I don't believe in any class: the upper class are lower than the lowest; the upper are a clik of dishonest people. The working type is the type I prefer. I'm a common working man and I expect I'll die in harness'. With his own hands and the help of African labour he built his neo-pioneer house between 1948 and 1951 for under £1,000. He even moulded his own bricks. There was, he supposed,

a definite conflict of aims between the classes: 'they seem to have the reins and they'll hold them'. 'The munts have got the best idea - they hammer them if they don't do what they want. Take Savanhu; the niggers swear he's a stooge and they're not far wrong'. He spoke Shona, Matabele and Chinyanja and said of Africans, 'They're a cunning crowd'.

He belonged to no clubs, 'gave up railway club years ago' and never touched a drop of drink. 'I saw enough of it as a child. My father was a big, wild Irishman - he was a speculator who didn't work. At the end of the week he would come home tipsy. But he never neglected us; the accounts were always paid.' He came to Rhodesia in 1885; his brother conducted a pioneer column into Rhodesia. His mother was here in 1886. 'My grandfather had citrus trees growing in Enkeldoorn before the pioneers came'. He had quite a few close friends: one very great friend had an English-born father and was himself born in the Union: Scottish friends and Irish friends: a few Afrikaners friends; a very close friend from Northumberland, another from London: 'there's no racialism with me - I take a man for what he's worth'. Friends about the same age - 'just homely chaps like myself. They are more or less the same - working people; all been here a long time over 20 years - some over 40 years'.

He believed that 'the best man' should cope with the country's problems. For the first few months the man from U.K. was 'all for the native; after two years he's more prejudiced

than those who have been here for twenty years - worse than any Rhodesian or South African will ever be'. He quoted a story of the change of heart of a British missionary to support this. I've got nothing against the munt's skin but you can smell them for miles; it's enough to kill you. If you can speak his language, in the bush he's a thorough gentleman, but after standard 3 he's finished'. He used to feel insulted when Rhodesia was insulted, etc., but 'like the missionary I have changed my opinions; I know too much about the place now. If I could get a good price for my house I would leave tomorrow; I have seriously thought about it'. Five years ago he had been offered £5,500 in cash for it, but did not accept: 'I was a fool; I still believed in the country'. 'Sir Roy was one of the laziest swines on the railway; he would do anything but work'. The subject used to feel completely at home in Rhodesia but no longer. He would like a son to go in for 'an honest job - not a professional job. Had to battle for myself when I was young. There were nine in the family. After father died I had nothing; anything he had mother was swindled out of'. Passed seventh standard in Salisbury; for first six months of work got exactly nothing, then 15/- per week, £1 a week and in third year 'a very generous £1.10.0d a week'. Wouldn't want children to settle in Rhodesia today. Two sons could go anywhere in the world. Youngest was offered a job in South America - 'if things get any worse with the munts they will try to get a transfer'. Both sons were at Allan Wilson school. If son were going to a university, would send him overseas - 'not to this multi-racial one'. Attitudes of wife to the country the same as his own:

'She loves the munts! ' And the children? 'They love 'em too!..
 My daughter-in-law won't have a munt in the house. She does all
 her own housework. 'If you bring a munt in this house', she says,
 'I'm out! ' 'My wife too won't have a nigger in her bedroom;
 we have only one boy; she won't let a nigger cook the food'.
 Little difference between children and himself. Sons were 'Home-
 ly fellows like me: they don't drink or run about'.

He enjoyed good health - 'been to hospital three times in
 his life - blood poisoning, Blackwater fever, and accident to
 arm. Not a day in bed for the last nine years. Mother was our
 doctor; I first saw a doctor when I joined the railway'.
 Family's health also good. 1932 was the last time wife was in
 bed.

'Racial situation has deteriorated 100%. This comes from
 trying to pacify and satisfy the native too much - he'll never
 be satisfied; he is pampered too much. The worst thing they
 ever did was to call them Africans - ever since then he's gone
 off his head; there's no such word, I've never heard of it.
 They're trying to bluff the nigger and he's not easily bluffed'.
 On immigration: 'Replace as many munts as possible with white
 people. It was proved at Kariba that one Italian could do the
 work of ten munts. But the trouble is if you've got all the
 immigrants what are they going to do?' Advice to immigrants:
 'Keep himself to himself and not mix with natives until he
 understands them. He shouldn't feel sorry for them because if
 he does, and then turns against them, there's nobody worse'.

The future: 'I've just about lived my life. There's nothing much I can do more. I should never have put a stake in the country; I should have got out when I got my pension. But it's sunk now ... I can't see much future for the country just at present. We should have a complete change of government. At every election they give civil servants a rise in pay and they vote for the government. At present to join the Union would be salvation rather than stay in the Federation. I haven't seen any racialism there. Officials have never bothered me. Police and traffic are a darned sight more helpful than here'. Divorce and alcoholism: 'I've never had any alcohol - nor my wife nor my sons - I can't understand it. We've been married thirtyseven years and me and my wife have never gone to bed angry with each other. It's something that's crept into the country. Booze is the cause of divorce. Clubs and social gatherings and sundowners are responsible for most divorces. If anyone comes to my house just to get drunk, he can stay away'.

The interviewer added these comments: "He is armed with a rugged, working-class resilience and colossal integrity; but it is a force misdirected. If it were to act upon soft soil it could transform a landscape; but fact has decreed that the force should incessantly come up against brick walls and mountains and these it cannot move. An example of the sort of man who has most to lose from African advancement; and true to form, in spite of certain touching respect for Africans in the raw state, he is as reactionary in his racial outlook as any man I have spoken to in Rhodesia. (Unhappily this is not the country for rugged white

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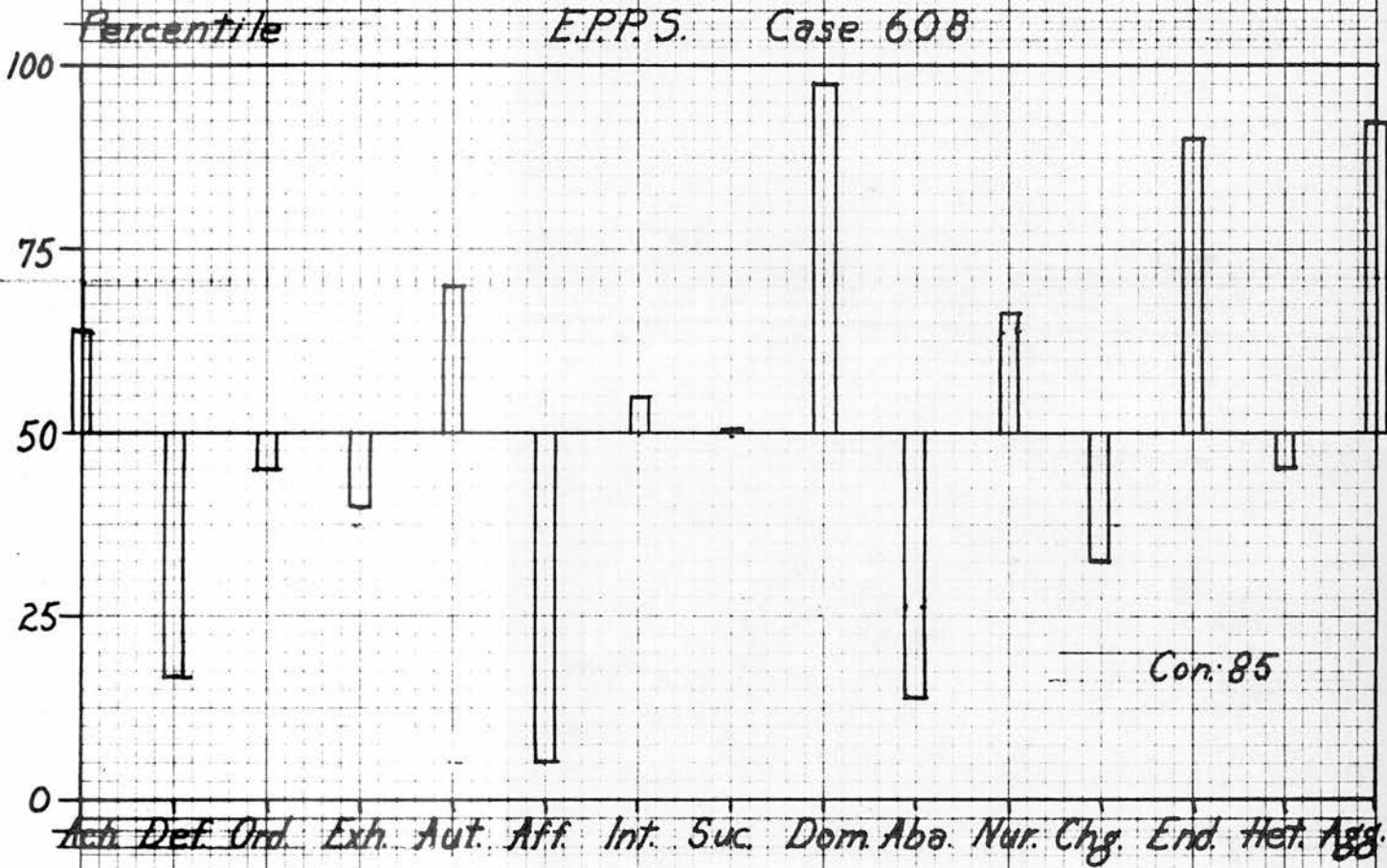


DIAGRAM 28

working class strength; it has its built-in black working class). He had a tremendous delusion of persecution - and the tragedy is the situation enables him to realistically imagine it coming from all sides."

This subject's remaining scores were as follows:-

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
6.27	0	E	58	4

As will be seen, the F-scale, anxiety and race scores were all extreme.

Summary.

This subject, who closely corresponded to the stereotyped image of a 'Rhodesian,' had completely detached himself from the country that had been his birthplace and only home for a lifetime. This detachment was so complete that on the original questionnaire, for country of origin, he had written 'Ireland'.

His basic approach to life remained that of the pioneers and was ill-adjusted to the modern problems of attempted partnership within an urbanised and industrialised society. The processes of assimilation to the dynamically changing social environment required by an 'old' Rhodesian, had to be almost as continuous as for a new immigrant. When this process was impeded, when the old terms of reference were unable to keep pace with the newly evolving changes, no reference back was possible to any previously experienced alternative. Thus genuine anomia

resulted, with the subject unable to accept the necessary changes and projecting the blame upon society. In such extreme cases, total anomia and dis-satisfaction was the consequence.

The reasons why, in this case, the reference group remained essentially that of his father's before him, were an amalgam of three factors:

i) his previously complete assimilation to Rhodesian life.
 ii) his economic and educational vulnerability in the face of the growing African challenge.

iii) his personality pattern, which did not carry a natural predisposition either to change or to appreciate the more subtle reasons why change should be necessary. (I've lived my life and lived it straight and always glad I can look everybody in the face.' 'I'm a good straightforward genuine man, believe in calling a spade a spade, no use for those blokes that go round corners.' Again, concerning, for example, the need to educate the African, 'teach him the word of God and his own language; otherwise education is no good. He'll never try to help his own people. He becomes a loafer and all he thinks of is money.')

Assimilated.

In contrast to the previous examples, the following four cases have been chosen as typifying the response patterns of fully assimilated immigrants.

Four cases have been selected, an Englishman, a South African, a German housewife, and an English housewife.

Case 745. (Satisfaction Score: 75; Anomia : 4)

Migrational details.

This subject was emotionally unstable and impetuous. In 1946 his only son came home from war service and announced that he would never be able to settle down in Britain. At this time, Mr. T. was earning £2,500 per annum as a professional musician, and part-time insurance broker. In spite of this success, his wife, in an attempt to retain her son in the nuclear family, persuaded the subject to apply for a post in a South African orchestra. The application was successful and within a week they were on the boat. Reflecting on this move, and in the light of subsequent developments, the subject stated 'leaving England was the silliest thing I ever did in my life'. Once in South Africa, he found that there was no opportunity to augment his income of £850 per annum. Politically he was unhappy, 'the Afrikaners thrive on hate, its almost a sexual urge with them, they love it. They teach it in the schools and preach it from the pulpit.' In 1953 the orchestra was disbanded, and, as his son was still unsettled, the family came to Rhodesia. He said he knew what to expect as he had studied the history and geography of Southern Africa.

In Salisbury, he entered full-time insurance and was now a senior executive with a leading company earning £3,500 a year. Within two years his son had been killed in tragic circumstances. During the period of analysis, Mr. T. ~~had~~ suffered a mental breakdown, but after, as before, the subject felt thoroughly

settled in the new country.

He expected and hoped to be doing the same job after one year and after ten years. He had no friends or relatives in Rhodesia before arrival, but the transition from South Africa was 'conveniently easy' and he felt confident as 'the people there were my own kind'. By this he meant they were Englishmen .

The subject regarded himself as Rhodesian, felt thoroughly at home and closely identified himself with the country, whose policy and fortunes he supported under all circumstances.

Had his son been still alive he would have most liked him to have become 'a Rhodesian and an electrical engineer'.

Biographical Details.

His father had been a well-to-do stockbroker, whom he described as 'a very flamboyant person who spent money like water'. His mother was 'a dour Scot, who spent money lavishly on food and clothes but nothing else'. Although he thought them 'exact opposites .. mother would often sit the whole evening at a party and say nothing, they got on very well together, they must have done, they had twenty-one kids'.

In the subject's own words, 'my mother was very hard on me, she was a tyrant who used to have violent fits of temper. I was my father's favourite, but he endowed me with an inferiority complex, which I have to this day, by making me sing in public and then criticising the performance. I feared and respected

father the most'. Mr. T. left home at fourteen. 'I was quite a reasonable type; I enjoyed escapades and always led the gang, being very military-minded'. The twenty-one children remained close to one another - 'if somebody hit one of the T's, then they hit all the T's'.

The subject was able to save in Rhodesia 'quite a lot'. Class differences were clearly perceived, based, he thought, on occupation. He placed himself on a par with a doctor.

Changes experienced had been a general improvement in conditions in South Africa. He missed only 'spiritual things' and this he continued to do. His leisure interests had not changed and he had not belonged to any group other than an orchestra. He tried golf but had abandoned it in favour of angling which he now greatly enjoyed. His social position was comparable to that in Britain except that it was now based upon income rather than occupation.

Mr. T. had made many close friends, most of them Rhodesian-born, and with 'wider interests' than himself. He considered born-Rhodesians better equipped than any immigrants to control the destiny of their country. 'They had a higher IQ in general, and a broader outlook on life. They understood the urban African better'. He experienced no particular difficulties in settling down, although his music and fishing had helped adjustment.

His wife had suffered a slight deterioration in general health, both had found two more hours of sleep necessary, and

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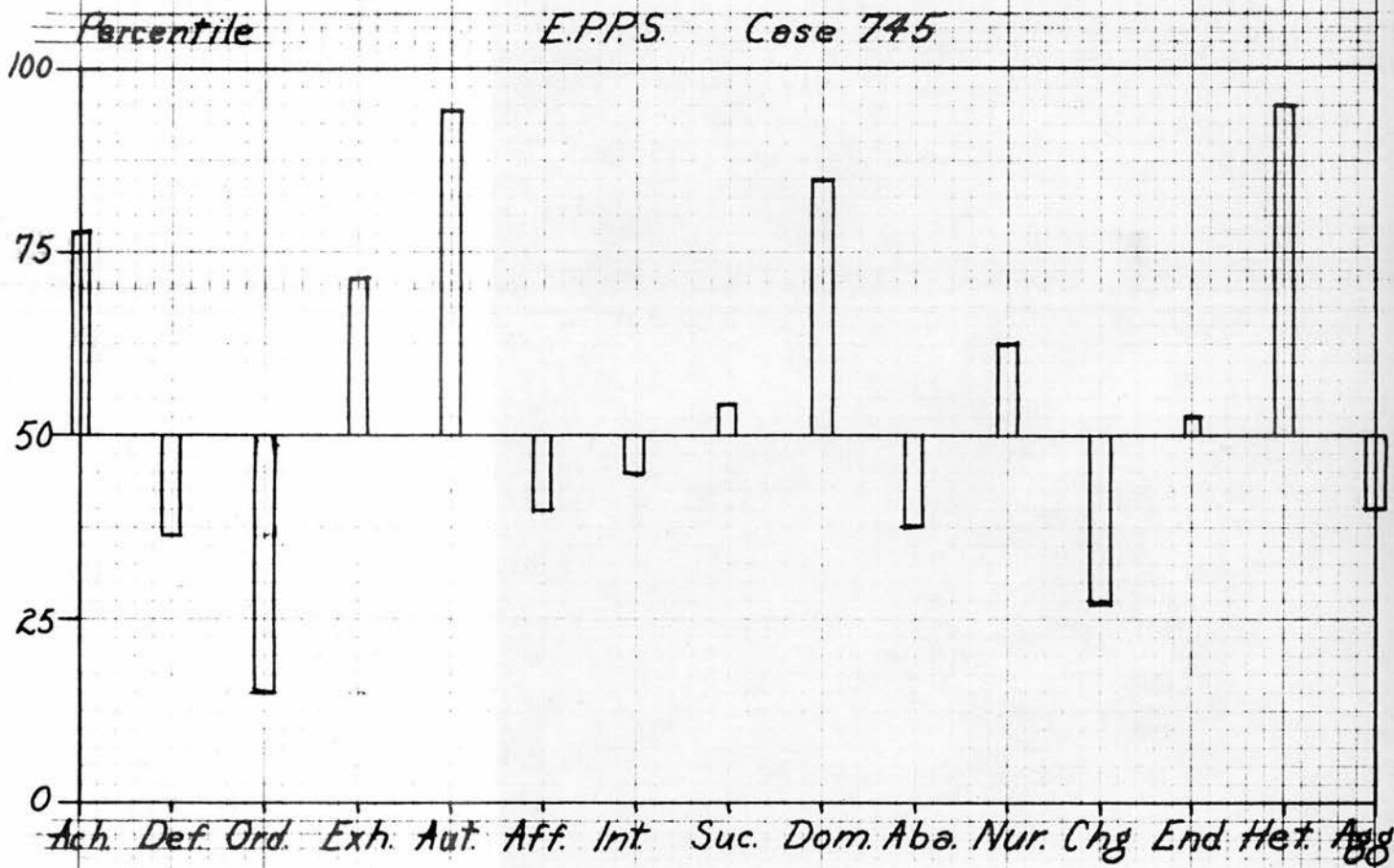


DIAGRAM 29

both were conscious of having become more nervous. In spite of these factors, both felt thoroughly at home in the country and wished to remain.

The subject's remaining scores were as follows:

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
4.60	20	H	56	6

General.

Shortly after reaching the highest score of all case-studies on the Anxiety Scale, this subject suffered a mental breakdown. This had not, however, affected his degree of assimilation. For this subject, the achievement of material prosperity was extremely important as a means of satisfying the desire to emulate the deeds and way of living of his father. There was also the desire to be thought well of by others. 'I have always wanted to be a terrific instrumentalist; I have been very good but never terrific - the finest in the world - I dream of riches and bestowing riches on one's friends'.

The subject had been able to introcept the racial attitudes and values of the new country without difficulty, supporting the government and concurring in its racial policies. He thought that Africans should have 'very much education' and that they should 'definitely be paid the same rate for the job'. At the same time, he accepted the notion that partnership was 'merely a political gimmick'. The alternative was 'to make up our

minds that we are here to stay and give the African a good way of life and equal pay'. He held the common view that whites and blacks could never understand one another largely because of the Christian ethical code that had placed 2,000 years of civilisation behind the whites.

At the same time the social and economic status that he had achieved introduced certain tensions. For example, Mr. T thought it wrong that wives should work and he did not want his own wife to do so, but she had insisted because of 'boredom and nervousness'. He enjoyed manipulating people, holding their esteem, and entertained lavishly; in order to help finance these activities his wife had made this her 'excuse' for working.

Although, by our definition, assimilated, Mr. T had not been totally absorbed by the new country, and in spite of satisfaction and a 'much better way of life', he still believed that he should never have left Britain.

This subject had no fears for the future, which he considered no less secure in Rhodesia than elsewhere. In this instance, the high degree of anxiety had not become generalised to influence the assessment of either the personal or the national future.

Case 979.

Migrational details. This was a forth-three year old storekeeper and former policeman from South Africa, who had come

to Rhodesia because of the opportunity envisaged when he was nineteen years old, and for the adventure. There had been no previous contacts or knowledge of the new country apart from a glowing description from a working colleague that had impressed him. He had experienced no problems or difficulties on arrival. Marriage had soon followed and this made settling down easy. He was completely identified with Rhodesia, felt thoroughly at home and supported the Government's racial policy.

Biographical details.

A quiet and uneventful childhood in an average middle-class white home in S.Africa.

His parents were happy together, although different. His mother was very careful and used to spoil all her twelve children. Father 'wouldn't spoil anybody'. He 'lived from day to day, was very strict and used to thrash us. Mum took our side'. After making money, the 1914/18 war had ruined him and the family were then rather left to their own devices. The subject remarked that he had always been strong-willed and as a child remembered frustration at the stagnation of small town life and being unable to achieve the things he wanted. 'I have a very independent nature'.

The subject, who earned £3,000 per annum as a storeman, thought 'security' the most important thing. 'If there is no money then there is friction. Everything revolves round the lack of money, unhappiness, etc., Everything you want. Without

money you can't travel, can't have clothes, furniture - life is unbearable'.

The subject had saved well and felt quite secure in Rhodesia. With more saving he would buy a farm in the bush.

He considered he had become more tolerant, an attitudinal change necessary for a process of assimilation that required a change from support of the United Party in South Africa to the United Federal Party in Rhodesia.

The subject thought that all people who had made Rhodesia 'home' should be equally well-equipped to solve her national problems. Identification, a sense of belonging, was equated with an obligation of trust. He had no worries for the future 'because other people have got more at stake than I have'. The concept of being a member of a close in-group was strong. 'I don't think anything (sic) out of a white skin has any time for us'. This appreciation of the situation however was not allowed to colour the quality of his reciprocation.

He was orientated to change, believing it important 'to keep up with the times'. His best friends were Irish and generally had a slightly higher income than his own.

He was not active in, or attracted to, any form of organised social activity. He hoped to remain in the adopted country for the remainder of his life.

The remaining scores of this subject were as follows:

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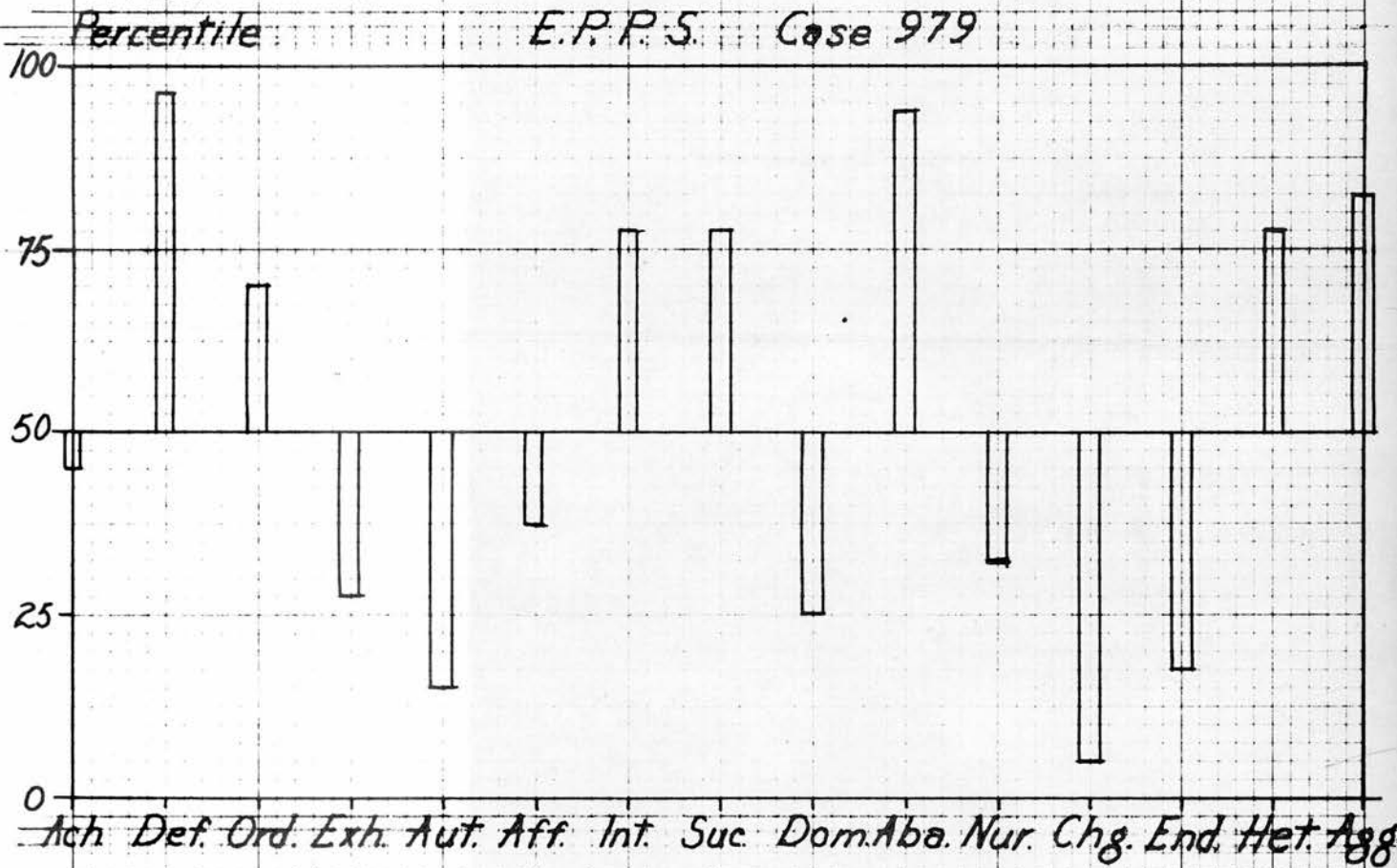


DIAGRAM 30

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
4.83	7	F	35	5

General.

This subject seemed well adjusted not only to contemporary social conditions but also to a rapid rate of change. Thus, he considered that 'Africans could become better able to accept responsibility than Europeans .. It is all a question of money .. I still think partnership could succeed if it can be genuinely applied. I think it can be. It is a pity it was not applied twenty-five years ago. Now it is not too late but becoming increasingly difficult.'

The sphere of commerce in which this subject was engaged was directly dependent upon the spending power and co-operation of the African population. His staff was exclusively black and it was clear from general conversation that there was a gulf separating the race attitudes to which he habitually confessed from the conceptions that governed (a) his behaviour in live situations and (b) his basically liberal approach to future possibilities. Further enquiries made among his staff by an African research assistant confirmed the high regard and confidence felt towards the subject by all his black employees.

One of the things that this subject found most irritating was 'having to listen to people who tell you only the Union knows how to treat the African'.

The subject, a non-practising Jew, gave the impression of being thoroughly embedded in the country, equally at home among the Africans who frequented his country store, as among his European neighbours in Salisbury, with whom he took care to remain on discreet but distant good terms.

In a final interview, Mr. L expanded in a manner that confirmed all our suspicions of the error of placing too much reliance on a single-attitude questionnaire, particularly within a social context as heavily charged with suspicion and emotion as Rhodesia's. He asked if he could amend certain replies. He said he spoke Shona and felt that he really understood the African very well. He recognised the futility of the constant comparison between the thoughts and behaviour patterns of Europeans and Africans. In his own business, £4,000 had been lost through African pilfering but he had not allowed this to change his 'sympathetic attitude towards them'. 'When I took the business over they were so underpaid that they were quite unable to even reach subsistence level, and it was therefore quite natural for them to steal. Europeans steal anyway and when they do they usually do it in a big way'.

Mr. L. was opposed to all forms of extremism, especially violence, and would have been prepared to 'swim along' with 'whatever system, Communist or otherwise, comes to this country, and it is because of this attitude that I am so optimistic about the future as far as I and my family are concerned'.

This subject seemed to have been assimilated well, though not absorbed, by virtue of his economic success ('I have achieved my ambition'), his social tact, his understanding of Africans (whose local dialects he spoke) and his pre-occupation with financial success and harmonious living. He had not, however, allowed his economic interests and pro-African sympathies to separate him from the overt values and standards of his own ethnic group. Identification had been made with a country and not with a segmental or class interest within it (compare Case Z.14). In this connection, the subject said that people could only be classified by income, irrespective of colour, and suggested £500 the dividing line. He did not, however, count any Africans among his friends nor did he have any opinion about the pleasantness of entertaining Africans in one's house. He neither criticised the majority of whites for disagreeing with his racial outlook nor praised them for introducing partnership. Asked what needed most improvement in the country, he replied 'fuller implementation of partnership from the European and less irresponsibility from the African'. The bifurcation, though not involving a double standard, came naturally, an habitual mode of thought.

Case 903. (Satisfaction : 71; Anomia : 4)

Migrational details. This was a twenty-eight year old married state registered nurse born in Germany who had migrated to Rhodesia after one year in Britain. Her original purpose had been travel and the thrill of independence gained through travel.

Although originally expecting to remain only a 'year or two' she married an English migrant and now proposed staying permanently.

Before arrival she had no friends in Rhodesia, but employment as a nurse was immediate and successfully avoided any of the usual early problems. Nothing had differed from expectation. She had never participated in group voluntary activities, although the nursing staff were in themselves a social group. She felt there was no longer any difference between born-Rhodesians and herself, and was completely at home and 'accepted'. She identified with Rhodesia in all apparent ways and regarded the people best able to cope with the country's problems as all those, irrespective of country of origin or length of residence, who had accepted Rhodesia as 'home'.

Her approach to the future of both her family and the country was 'very optimistic'. She enjoyed nursing and expected to be employed as a nurse for many years ahead.

The only indication of involvement with Germany was her desire to have a son educated in that country.

Biographical Details.

The subject had spent a happy childhood and regarded herself as having been influenced by both parents in equal measure. There were two brothers, each better behaved and less

adventurous than herself.

The main factors about living in the new country seems to have been her marriage, and the standard of living she had been able to maintain. Although she enjoyed nursing she would have preferred to remain at home if this could have been afforded.

Mrs. C. was a clear-cut, decisive person with clear aims and strong determination. Her sentiments towards Germany contained elements of a residual bond but memories of a poor standard of living seemed to have been uppermost in her resolve not to return, even before she married an Englishman.

She was concerned with material success and the satisfaction of a comfortable home. Asked what was the main ingredient for happiness, she unhesitatingly replied 'money'. Although her husband was dis-satisfied in his present occupation, his wife was the dominant partner, and, in the belief that their standard of living could not be equalled elsewhere, she was resolved to remain in the country and to do all things considered necessary to assimilate. Her ambition, like her needs, were simple and commonplace, and had mostly been fulfilled.

Social activities did not play a large part in her life, and friends, excluding members of the nuclear family, were not regarded as 'terribly important'. Her advice to prospective immigrants would be 'forget home and learn to accept things as they are'. She was not at all nervous in Rhodesia and the health

* Husband's Dom percentile on EPPS was 39 compared to his wife's 89.

of the family had been constantly good.

This subject's remaining scores were as follows:

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
4.27	5	F	44	<u>6</u>

Summary.

Probably the most uncomplicated study of the series. A strong-willed, egocentric, adventurous, dominant and self-opinionated young woman, determined to live successfully in a country with which she had already identified, and which had already provided her with a husband, satisfying employment, and a standard and ease of living to which she had not been accustomed.

Case 9. (Satisfaction : 63; Anomia : 3)

Migrational Details. After her fiancé had come to Rhodesia in 1947, this subject followed two years later in order to get married. They decided to stay in the country on account of the greater opportunities. This had been her first overseas experience.

Although she had fully identified herself with the new country, there was a hint of insecurity intruding into her replies.

She felt that 'one might have to leave'. Before Federation they were going to buy their own house and her husband's occupation seemed secure. Now things seemed to be 'fizzling out rapidly

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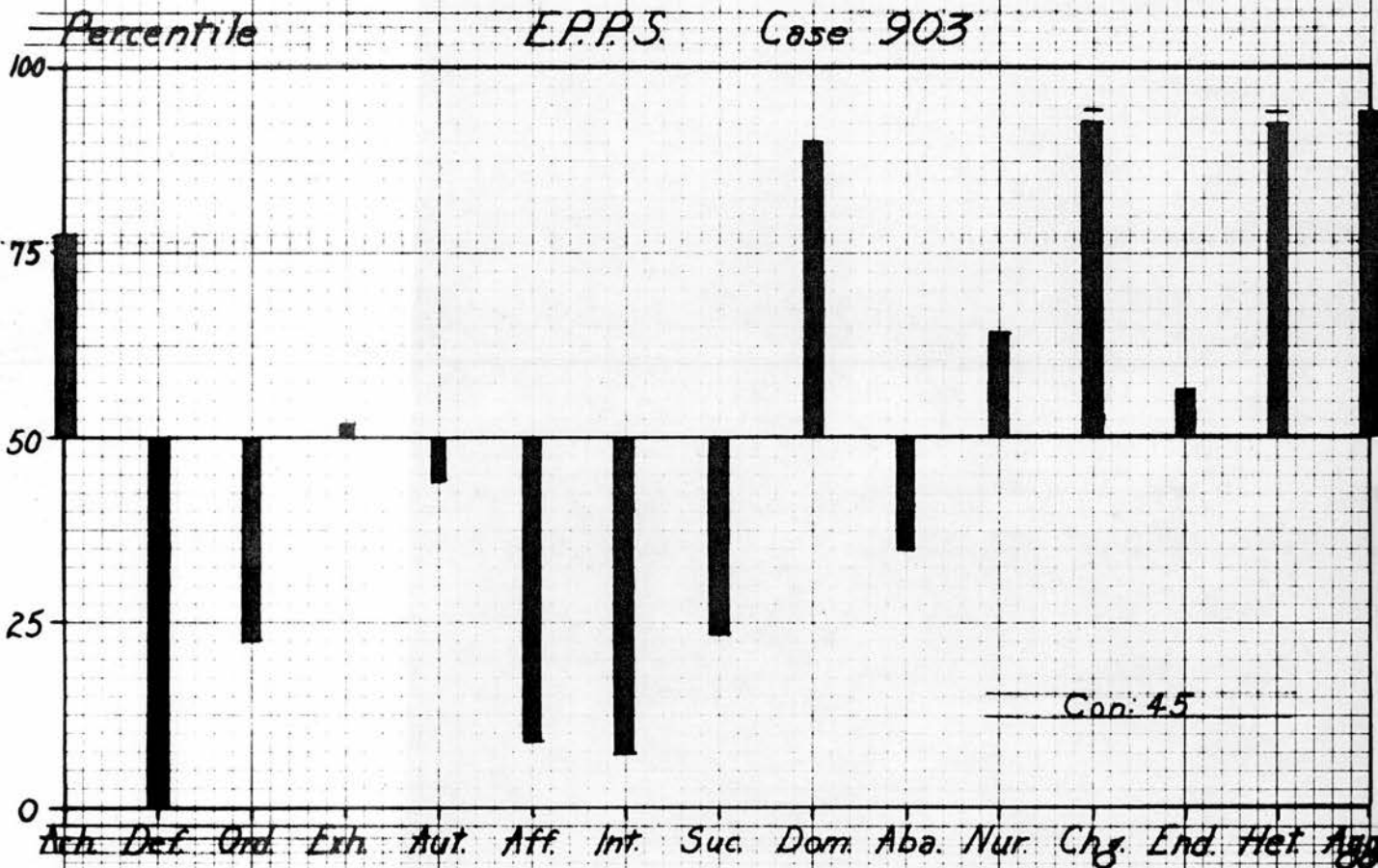


DIAGRAM 31

with lurking unemployment'.

Biographical Details.

Mrs. R.'s father had died when she was two. For the next five years the subject had lived with her mother and grandparents, until her mother married. The step-father had made her childhood unhappy, 'picking on me for no reason' and it was his discipline she most feared. He forbade her pleasures in a 'spiteful' way. 'I would get ready to go out, all dressed up, and when I got to the door he would forbid me to go. Mother would interfere and there would be a quarrel'. These strong feelings between step-father and subject continued until she was sixteen. Mrs.R. suffered feelings of guilt at being the cause of contention between her parents, and was only able to find peace with her grandfather.

After being 'spoilt' for the first seven years and then suddenly coming under strict discipline (e.g. her step-father held a 'kit inspection' every Sunday morning), she felt she didn't 'fit in anywhere'. Friends were easily made but her step-father always found something wrong with them and they were dropped. When she was sixteen she made friends with a cousin of whom the step-father approved. This friendship spread and a group of twenty-two went about together. This was the happiest part of her childhood. Now she regarded friends as 'most important', 'better to have a few friends than many acquaintances'.

The subject was a trained carpet repairer and debtor's clerk

who had not worked since the birth of her child. She was dissatisfied with being only a housewife and missed the mental change, income and companionship of working in an office.

Her material needs had been adequately met. She wouldn't work 'just for money' and was against mothers working unless it meant 'hungry, ill-dressed children'. The greatest gift money would bring was pleasure, although she thought it possible to be happy without money. In Rhodesia, she enjoyed a larger income, servants and a better standard of living.

Although she considered her husband's prospects less hopeful than at the time they were married, she was resolved to stay as long as economic circumstances permitted.

No difficulties had been experienced in settling down. She was at once accepted by her husband's circle of friends. She belonged to a social and a sports club, but seldom attended either. Her closest friends were all Rhodesian-born and of similar income to herself. She believed them more capable of dealing with the country's problems than immigrants.

Racially and politically, Mrs. R. supported the right-wing Dominion Party as having the only policy likely to guarantee present standards. Her views conformed to the South African norm, although, as she said, she was not a fanatic. She accepted African advancement as not only inevitable but right.

The subject was level-headed, quietly resourceful and

relatively stable. The need for achievement was not wholly satisfied by being a wife and a mother, the full demands of which she found difficult to accept. She was disturbed, but not worried, by her 'lack of domestication'. 'I don't seem to be able to bring up children'.

Her minor self-indulgencies (smoking and good food), the ease of living that was still possible, the facility with which she had assimilated normative Rhodesian racial attitudes; these and her husband's equal enjoyment of them, made her more content to stay and hope for the best than to act with initiative and personal effort in the search for an alternative.

The subject was explicitly concerned over hygiene. 'Social integration boils down to hygiene - not the color of the skin. It's a case of eating from crockery that some African with some peculiar disease has been eating from, and using the same toilets'.

The remaining scores were as follows:

F-Scale	Anxiety	Intelligence	Social Intelligence	Race
4.43	6	F	54	6

Summary.

The 'open' quality of society, with its accent on independent pursuit and personal resourcefulness had enabled this subject to remain satisfied and fully identified, even in the

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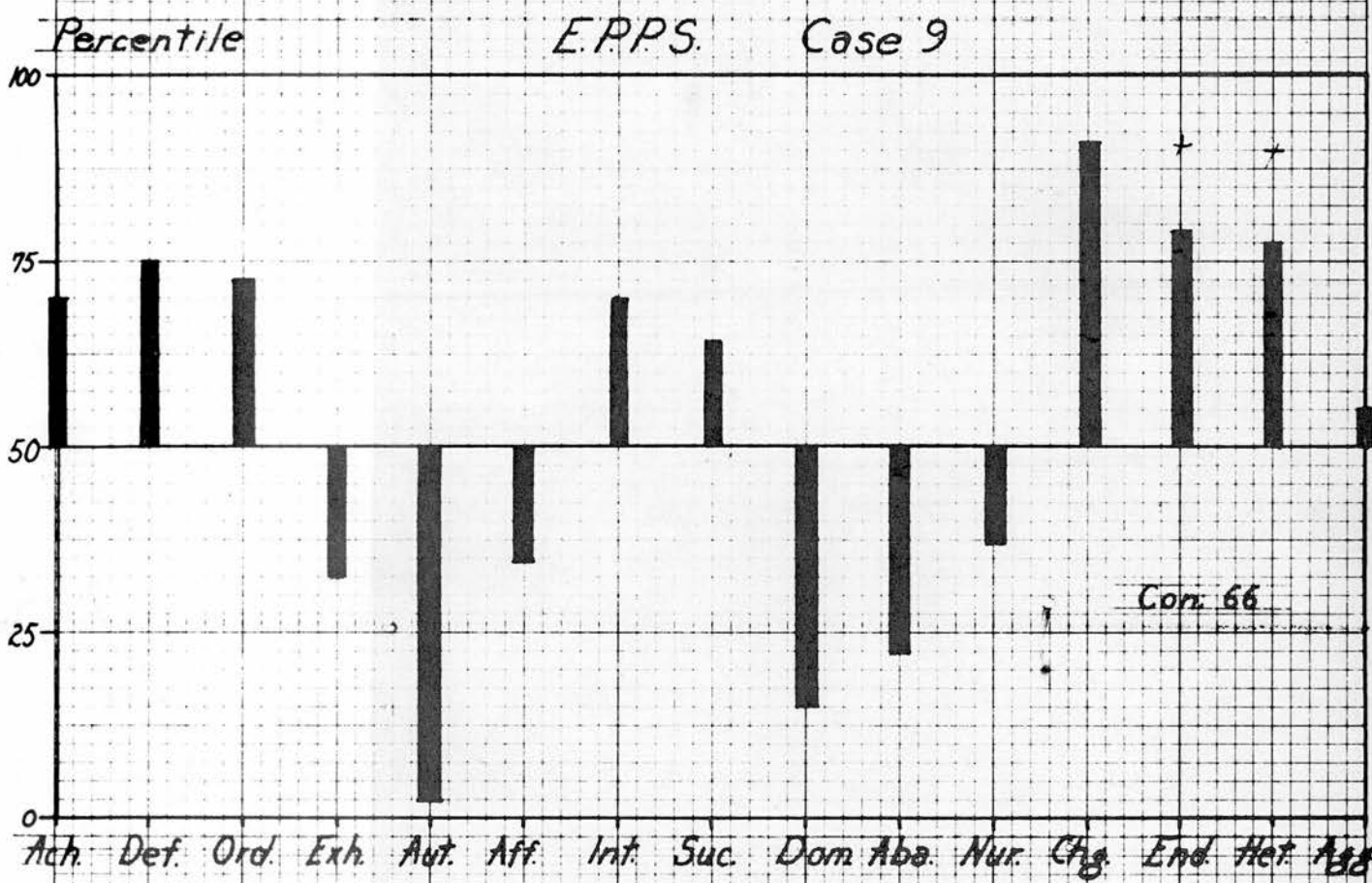


DIAGRAM 32

face of a growing threat of insecurity. The personality needs, although not entirely satisfied even at the conscious level, were sufficiently rewarded to justify other sacrifices. In order to reinforce the defences against the African threat to security, the subject had assumed more extreme racial attitudes rationalised as being due to hygiene and the 'immaturity' of the African. There was an interesting difference here in the rationale of the attitude held respectively by many born Rhodesians, South Africans and by many British immigrants.

Whereas born Rhodesians tended to base their judgments on the assumed innate inferiority of the African (or at least on the long term detrimental effects of his culture), the British immigrant had not so accepted this premiss. He therefore tended either to rationalise in terms of 'hygiene' if his moral judgments required a reason, or, if the needs for a moral basis was less severe, he was blatant in his extreme self-interest.

Although it could be argued therefore, that complete assimilation required from the S.African and Rhodesian affirmation of unquestioned white superiority, this argument was met by the question 'assimilation to whose standards?' since born Rhodesians and S.Africans who shared these views were outnumbered and their stronger prejudices were becoming more diluted through immigration, mass-communication and advances in education.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Measurements obtained from the sixty case-studies were analysed according to assimilative level. The working hypotheses are implicit in the tests used and have only been explicitly mentioned when confirmed by results. The following series of tables records the findings obtained.

TABLE 46.

Scores on the F-Scale and Assimilative Level
 $\bar{x} = 4.43$

N	Assimilative level	Mean Score.
15	Discontented	4.59
22	Satisfied	4.34
5	Migrationaly fulfilled	4.27
18	Assimilated.	4.46

TABLE 47.

Score on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale
 and Assimilative level.
 $\bar{x} = 9.0$

Discontented	10.1* (SD 16.13)
Satisfied	9.7
Migrationaly fulfilled	10.4
Assimilated	8.1* (SD 7.47)

* not sig.(using one-tailed test)

TABLE 48.

Score on Race Questionnaire and Assimilative Level

$\bar{x} = 5.5$

Discontented	5.5
Satisfied	5.8* (SD 1.89)
Migrationaly fulfilled	5.6
Assimilated	5.2* (SD 1.28)

* Diff.sig. at .025 level (one-tailed test)

TABLE 49.

Social Intelligence and Assimilation Level

$\bar{x} = 56.32$

Discontented	54.9
Satisfied	58.3
Migrationaly fulfilled	42.0* (SD 16.7)
Assimilated	55.6* (SD 8.85)

* not sig. (one-tailed test).

TABLE 50.

Intelligence and Assimilation Level.

$\bar{x} = E$

Discontented	E (121-125)
Satisfied	F (126-130)
Migrationaly fulfilled	C (111-115)
Assimilated	F (126-130)

These tables indicated that for the case-studies there was no overall statistically significant relationship between any of these variables and achieved level of assimilation. The one exception was a tendency for assimilated immigrants to score less highly on the racial questionnaire, that is for them to hold certain attitudes unfavourable to Africans.

Our individual analysis of these case-studies repeatedly emphasised the range of significance that could be attributed to these factors in determining the degree of assimilation. The examples that have been reported in detail demonstrated this fact, and confirmed the danger of considering the assimilative process within the framework of a closely categorised programme. A high degree of anxiety, for example, may in one person be generalised and result in a changed emotional tone toward all the daily problems of living. Reacting within the structure of a different personality, however, the degree of anxiety, although sufficiently intense to be associated with mental ill-health, might remain specific, influencing neither the ease nor the degree of attainable assimilation.

To this extent these general results were not unexpected.

Certain manifest needs of the total personality were, however, hypothesised to be generally more appropriate than others in facilitating personal adjustment to a new environment. These will now be examined.

As the test employed was standardised in the United States, the percentile figures may not be accurate. This does not, however, affect the comparative differences which for our purposes, is the critical consideration.

The presence of four manifest needs, as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, were each hypothesized as being likely to facilitate successful immigrant adjustment,

and hence positive assimilation. These were the need to attain status (achievement), the wish to make friends and form strong attachments (affiliation), the desire to undertake fresh tasks and enjoy different circumstances (change), and persistence (endurance).

The scores for the four groups of case studies on these items of the scale will now be examined. For the purpose of this analysis, the 'migratorially fulfilled' category was subsumed into the assimilated. Their equally high satisfaction scores and the few cases involved (5) were held to justify this course.

TABLE 51.

The need for Achievement and Assimilation Level.

Assimilation level	Mean Percentile	S.D.	N.
Discontented	56	22.8	15
Satisfied	61	16.6	22
Assimilated	66	19.3	23

Although the difference between the means for the 'discontented' and the 'assimilated' groups was not statistically significant, this may have been due to the small numbers involved. The general trend suggested that this variable was associated with a predisposition to adjust. Another factor that worked against statistical significance was the range of percentile obtained within each group, due largely to the existence of two extremely low measures in each. This considerably

increased the standard deviation in both cases.

TABLE 52.

Affiliation and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	35
Satisfied	38
Assimilated	35

Clearly no connection was established and the working hypothesis had therefore to be rejected.

TABLE 53.

Change and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	65 (SD 17.6)
Satisfied	56
Assimilated	54 (SD 19.1)

Using a one-tailed test of significance, the difference between the mean percentile measure of 'discontents' and 'assimilateds' was significant at the .05 level. The ability to experience pleasure in new activities, to experience novelty and change in daily routine, to live in different places as evinced by the E.P.P.S., was found to be significant. For this personality variable, as would be expected among a preponderantly immigrant community, the scores tended to be high. A strong need to seek change, while probably an advantage in the early stages of physical transition, was demonstrated to be unfavourable to successful assimilation. When the need became too strong it made adjustment more difficult;

the urge to find fault with the known and to seek further stimulation from the unknown re-asserted itself. Thus the difference between acculturation and assimilation is not determined only by their different positions on the time-scale; under certain circumstances, factors facilitating the former may actually inhibit the latter.

TABLE 54.

Endurance and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	73 ^{xx} SD. 20.6
Satisfied	52
Assimilated	53 ^{xx} SD. 21.1

xx relationship sig. at .01 (one-tailed test)

This remarkable inversion of the figures expected on the working hypothesis necessitated a close look at the case records. It was found that of the eleven cases among the discontents whose percentile score on this variable exceeded the 'assimilated' mean, eight of them felt that their personal security would be seriously affected by remaining in Rhodesia.

It seemed, therefore, that the insecurity of the Rhodesian environment most influenced migrants whose perseverance caused them to finish tasks and to dislike interruption and the threat of inconclusiveness and indecision. Thus a trait which was thought to be a positive advantage in personal adjustment was found to have unexpected consequences due to unusual environmental pressures.

In addition to the above four needs hypothesized to

facilitate successful immigrant adjustment, five other manifest needs were hypothesized to militate against successful adjustment. These were the need to say and do as one wishes, to avoid situations where conformity is expected (autonomy), the tendency to argue and to seek to influence rather than be influenced (dominance), intro-punitiveness and depression through inability to handle situations (abasement), a propensity for helping friends when in trouble, to sympathise and offer affection to others (nurturance), and a predisposition for attacking other points of view and to criticise others openly (aggression).

The results on these five variables are set out in the following tables.

TABLE 55.

Autonomy and Assimilative Level

Discontented	69 A	SD.14.6
Satisfied	59 AB	SD.21.3
Assimilated	45 B	SD.21.6

A relationship sig.at .05 level(one-tailed test)

B relationship sig.at .05 level(one-tailed test)

An association was thus established between the characteristic of autonomy and assimilative failure. The factors of this characteristic are supposedly independence in reaching decisions, avoidance of conformity and dislike of responsibilities and obligations.

In a society in which behavioral resourcefulness was

necessary, there was also pressure toward conformity of attitude and outlook. The predisposition not to conform supplied an effective barrier to the acceptance of normative values, irrespective of content. The fact that the connection between autonomy-score and assimilative level was so much closer than that between either the F-scale or the racial score and assimilative level, suggested that this generalised predisposition not to conform might be a more potent factor in determining racial attitudes (crucial in the Rhodesian frame of reference) than other variables normally more specific to prejudice.

TABLE 56.

Dominance and Assimilative Level

Discontented	61	* /	SD 19.6
Satisfied	45	*	SD 22.3
Assimilated	51	/	SD 21.6

* relationship sig. at .01 level (one-tailed test)
/ relationship sig. at .05 level (one-tailed test)

The working hypothesis is again confirmed. Although in some cases a high dominance score seemed to be associated with an observed ability to overcome environmental problems, in general an ability to resist the requirements of the situation, to seek to influence rather than to be influenced, to lead rather than be led by others, was associated with immigrational discontent.

European society in Rhodesia, although 'open' within itself, constituted a clearly defined and structured in-group. Inside

this there was little room for individual manoeuvre.

TABLE 57.

Abasement and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	34*	SD.17.6
Satisfied	51*	SD.18.8
Assimilated	40	SD.23.6

* relationship sig. at the .01 level (one-tailed test)

The scores for this variable were generally low, but whereas the mean percentile score for the satisfieds conformed to the standardised mean, a statistically significant lower figure was obtained by the discontented. This result was interpreted in the light of the detailed case-study material as indicating that a common factor in discontent was the feeling that one would do better in other circumstances, that the fault, usually economic insecurity, lay more in fortune than in oneself. This accords with the findings on the dominance variable already reported. The dis-satisfied immigrant who scored highly for abasement tended to introject blame and would not therefore be so readily disposed towards re-emigration. These individuals were not included in the case-study series since they were not discontents according to our working definition (i.e. they did not wish to return home).

TABLE 58.

Nurturance and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	50
Satisfied	52
Assimilated	56

The working hypothesis was not substantiated. No positive connection was established between immigrational failure and a soft-centred approach towards others. There was, however, a tendency in this direction, although with the small numbers involved it was not sufficiently marked to be significant.

TABLE 59.

Aggression and Assimilative Level.

Discontented	73
Satisfied	69
Assimilated	68

Again, although the trend was in the expected direction and the percentiles were noticeably high, there was no apparent connection between aggression and assimilation.

In conclusion, two other findings deserve mention.

First, the discontented group fell very significantly below the mean percentile of the other two groups for 'Exhibition'. There may be a degree of introversion in this variable, a dislike of being observed, of talking about

personal matters. Whatever the explanation for this low percentile marking (mean : 21st percentile), it was the lowest recorded on the schedule and may have been associated with frustration. Personalities of this type would find adjustment to the extraverted social environment of Rhodesia difficult.

Second, a low percentile rating among discontents on the heterosexual scale. There was insufficient data to consider the possible reasons for this unexpected finding.

Finally, an interesting sidelight of what may be some of the characteristics of the Rhodesian population, was afforded by considering these variables included in the schedule whose percentile score varied considerably from the American standard.

High scores, those for which the mean exceeded the 55th percentile, were obtained for :

- achievement
- succorance
- change
- aggression

Low scores, the mean for each group falling on or below the 46th percentile, were obtained for :

- exhibition
- affiliation

(and, almost, for deference).

If this sample offered a reliable guide, there was within European society an accent on the need for personal achievement, for sympathetic personal relationships, a need of change for its own sake and extra-punitive aggressiveness. Conversely, there was less intraversion and a weaker need than usual to enjoy friendships. All these suggestions were confirmed by observation and personal experience. Although consideration of this type based on a comparatively small sample must remain uncertain, they are important in answering the question: given the significance of variable x for assimilation, is this because it is important for migrational adjustment as a particular kind of experience, or it is specifically due to certain peculiarities of the new country? Further it seemed important not that the immigrant should have as strong a normative manifest personality need as possible but that it should be of optimum strength. Thus, while a comparatively strong need for environmental change seemed normal, when this need was too strong, it created tensions likely to lead to discontent. Conversely, if this same need was experienced too weakly, as for example, in the case of study Z8, difficulties of assimilation could arise.

This concludes our discussion of individual cases selected from the original questionnaire.

A number of psychological variables, including manifest anxiety, social intelligence and certain needs as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, were found to have no clear relationship with processes of assimilation.

Difficulties were also encountered for regarding satisfaction, identification and assimilation as progressive points along the same continuum. Some subject, for example, identified with Rhodesia and had accepted her most significant values and attitudes without being satisfied. Such a result might be interpreted in two ways, either the criteria for deciding satisfaction and identification, and for determining the significant values, were faulty or, alternatively, the processes leading to assimilation do not necessarily involve each of these variables occurring sequentially.

It has been shown, not only among the immigrants whose cases have here been recorded, but also among the others whose history space did not permit us to mention, that satisfaction is dependent

on the fulfilment of certain needs, generally the desire for higher status or for greater income and better living standards. When this can be achieved without direct involvement in the local culture, as may happen in the contented family group, then satisfaction ensues without identification and (by definition) assimilation. If such immigrants are also interested in group activities, whether formal or informal, then identification and hence assimilation are more likely to follow. When, on the other hand, those who have already

identified with the country and introcepted its values, find their life goals thwarted or increasingly distant, these people, whether immigrants or indigenous, will become dis-satisfied and may even (re)emigrate. Under these latter circumstances the individual may go to considerable lengths to retain his personal identity and 'belongingness', hence, for example, the case of the born-Rhodesian who, disillusioned and out of sympathy with contemporary trends, spoke of himself as 'Irish'. Hence also, perhaps, the greater solidarity that was found, in our study of church groups, among the Dutch Reformed Church members, who were the least satisfied among all church groups.

The question then arises: what is the degree of fulfilment that will satisfy the non-culturally oriented immigrant and, in the opposite case, the degree of deprivation that will cause an otherwise assimilated resident to reject either his identity with the country and/or his willingness to remain within in?

It seems, from the studies we have made, that this depends on a number of factors, the most important of which are (i) the perceived alternative (in terms of whatever needs are strongest), (ii) family cohesion, and (iii) the strength and direction of other(non-familial) social ties.

Associated with this, it has been argued that the most likely failure among immigrants from Britain was either (i) an inability to acquire or accept the prevailing norms in race relations, or (ii) a failure to retain the status position demanded by life in the new society, or to improve on the status position occupied in the old, consequent upon high pre-migrational aspiration and the hungry requirements of social ambition nourished by Rhodesian group values.

It has been further indicated, as exemplified by case-study Z 14, that intensified social solidarity in the face of the threatening African out-group, not only directed many social values toward the area of race relations, but also enabled the social environment to be manipulated in a manner not easily possible in a more stable society. Thus, in some cases, dissatisfaction with the country was associated with identification and ego-involvement with the fortunes of the under-privileged out-group. This provided a reference group offering higher status than could be obtained by most whites whose reference

group remained their own society. Such people, although dis-satisfied and unassimilated, nevertheless were more personally satisfied than they could be elsewhere. This distinction between satisfaction with the new country and personal satisfaction is important, for, subjectively, the two kinds of satisfaction are very different.

With regard to the formation of attitudes about Africans, it was noticed that whereas most born-Rhodesians regard them as biologically inferior, the immigrant at first rationalises his attitude changes by referring to differing standards of hygiene or morality or general cultural conditioning or all of these. /

Further questions raised by the study of individual cases are discussed in the following chapter.

/ Cf. 'The intimate connection between European settlement and the maintenance of 'civilised standards' is, of course, that if the Europeans were to be eliminated the standards they set would be abandoned'. C. Leys, European Politics in Southern Rhodesia, OUP, 1959, p.284.

CHAPTER VIIThe Longitudinal Study of Immigrants.

For a continuous period during the early part of 1960, the co-operation of each prospective immigrant to Southern Rhodesia from Britain issued with a residence permit, was invited by post. Those who agreed to help were then interviewed before departure by one of five trained assistants, and subsequently at varying periods after arrival in Rhodesia.

Before embarkation they completed (i) a semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule, (ii) the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and (iii) a shortened version of the Rogers-Frantz race-attitudes questionnaire. In addition to completing (iii) above in the usual manner, subjects were asked a) to predict their own probable attitude change "in the light of experience", and b) to indicate which of their responses they considered differed from the normative response of white residents in Rhodesia.

Shortly after arrival and again after the lapse of one year, immigrants were interviewed and completed again on each occasion the Rogers-Frantz questionnaire. A satisfaction-score was also obtained on both occasions.

This chapter is based on the thirty-seven immigrants from whom completed results (i.e. three interviews, a triplicated R-F schedule and a duplicated satisfaction-score) were obtained.

See Appendix D.P.- VII

See Appendix D.P.- VII

For the purpose of this chapter only one member from a given household was considered although all adult volunteers were in fact studied.

The primary objects were threefold. First, to determine certain key predisposing factors in migrational success or failure; second, to examine, as far as possible as it occurred, the process of attitude change; and third, to determine, in the light of the findings contained in the previous chapter, the predictive value, if any, of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, with particular reference to early adjustment. These three objects will now be considered in turn.

Predisposing Factors.

These were of two kinds according to whether they were subjective, part of the immigrant's total personality and background, or objective, aspects of the environment to which the individual would be required to respond and into which his unique characteristics would be launched. The former was the soloist, the latter the instrument, the result of their interaction the performance.

From an examination of these cases seven important factors were isolated.

Aspirations.

The immigrant's social financial and occupational ambitions before entering the new prospective country were in almost all cases directly relevant to the degree of migrational success attained during the first year. Three features of these aspirations must be distinguished, i) their appropriateness, by which is meant the degree to which the new environment was likely to render their fulfilment possible, ii) their significance, the measure of their importance as needs of the total personality,

and iii) their intensity, the strength and urgency with which they are experienced.

The importance of this aspirational factor was a function of these three aspects. Thus, in general, an inappropriate ambition strongly held was more likely to present migrational success than an appropriate ambition weakly held was likely to produce it. Ambition that was unlikely to be fulfilled (inappropriate aspiration) was in some cases strongly hoped for prior to departure, but became decreasingly so after arrival. This suggested that intensity had been disproportionate to significance. No cases were observed where aspirational significance appeared to exceed aspirational intensity. In terms of affirmed aspiration this was perhaps impossible without either conscious dissembling or unconscious avoidance.

It will be noted that appropriateness may be assessed in either concrete or abstract terms, according to whether it is concerned with, for example, financial and occupational prospects, or improvement in social status.*

Expectation.

Expectation is to be distinguished from aspiration; the former is a cognitive prediction, the latter an emotive hope. There was in this case a further difference fashioned by the present study. Whereas aspiration was generalised around the theme of occupational ambition (promotion or expansion) and social

* These three need not necessarily be parts of the same conceptual whole, since occupational ambition may be associated with the opportunity to do a particular job for its own sake.

ambition (rise in status), expectation was particularised. The study sought to discover the prospective immigrant's expectations relating to: climate, the cost of living, the standard of living, opportunities for the indulgence of leisure, the resident European population, the local African population, and race relations. Nevertheless, it was found useful to again differentiate between three concomitants corresponding to those identified for aspiration. The accuracy of the expectation, the degree to which it accords with conditions of the new environment, its assimilative relevance, the importance it holds for the contentment of the individual, and by the same token as before, its intensity, the strength with which it is believed.

Most immigrants from Britain had a clear and accurate preconception of the climate. This was therefore seldom important. There were several cases, however, where the dust during the dry season and the pollen-laden atmosphere exacerbated allergic conditions. Where the allergy exceeded the personal threshold of tolerance, as happened in two cases, climate exerted a marked influence on migrational success. For the large majority however, its warmth, brightness and dependability, rendered the Rhodesian climate a factor predisposing towards successful (contented) migration. Minor criticisms levelled against the absence of seasonal variation, either in vegetation, climate or daylight, did not appear important. Where they were mentioned at all (always after arrival) it was as a minor (rationalised?) contributory factor towards dis-satisfaction, or as a source of

mild disappointment that did not otherwise affect the subject's assimilative level.

With regard to expectation, the high cost of living in Rhodesia, ^{*} had an importance that was in direct proportion to a) the inaccuracy of the immigrant's expectation, and b) the level of the immigrant's Rhodesian income. Where the expenses had been correctly estimated, usually through information supplied by a close friend or relative, this accuracy played an important part in facilitating rapid early adjustment. But where expectation had been inaccurate, or undefined, the disillusionment experienced by the new immigrant was a still more important factor towards making early adjustment difficult and often critical. The most common problem and source of disillusionment in this respect was the need, sociologically conditioned, to maintain a status position compatible with one's occupation. This was emphasised in the lower income groups. Whereas, for example in Britain, a shop assistant would not expect to incur much expenditure for entertainment, for the employment of servants, or for the education of his children, in Rhodesia these were all overt symbols of social position. In order to perpetuate a broad gap between himself and his lurking African competitors and more important, to enjoy a new position in the social hierarchy that would have been denied him in the old country, on the grounds of his occupation alone, it was necessary to entertain lavishly, employ at least two servants, and, if possible, send his children to fee-paying schools. These were strong pressures. In an open

* Compared to its broad British equivalent.

society, these were as important as they were generally unexpected. In addition to these considerations there were the purely practical problems of living accommodation and food. In Rhodesia both were expensive.

The pattern of family expenditure in the Salisbury region reflects the struggle for status and the problem of housing. Table 60, extracted from the Preliminary Report of the Central Statistical Office on European Family Expenditure, shows the main increases and fluctuations, and the relative distribution of family expenditure as income rises.

TABLE 60
Summary of Average Family Income & Expenditure,
October 1960, Salisbury Region.

Average Expenditure per family. Monthly.	Under £126.	£126-£145	Quintile Income Group		
			£145-£165	£165-£201	£201 & over
Food	24. 2. 2	27.19. 2	29. 1. 2.	30. 1. 6	33. 8.11
Beverages	2.16. 6	3.16. 9	5. 2. 3.	6.16. 5	10. 0. 8
Rent, Mortgages, Light & water.	22.16. 8	24.17. 3	24. 1. 1.	31.16.10	30.17.10
Servants.	5.16.10	8.10. 1	10. 1. 5.	10.14. 5	16.13. 8
Recreation.	4. 6. 9	5.11.10	7.12. 8	9. 4.10	11.12. 0
Education.	12. 6	2. 5. 7	2.14. 3	1.12. 0	6.12. 4
Pensions, insurances.	5.16.11	7.17. 1	9. 3. 5	12. 5. 8	18. 0. 8
Relative Distribution of Expenditure.					
	%	%	%	%	%
Food	23.9	22.8	20.1	19.0	16.7
Beverages.	2.8	3.1	3.5	4.3	5.0
Rent, Mortgages, Light & water.	22.6	20.3	16.7	20.1	15.4
Servants	5.8	6.9	7.0	6.8	8.3
Recreation.	4.3	4.6	5.3	5.8	5.8
Education.	0.6	1.9	1.9	1.0	3.3
Pensions, insurances.	5.8	6.4	6.3	7.8	9.0

The unexpected pressure to acquire certain luxuries, more than the unexpected cost of most necessities, caused considerable criticism of the inadequate and inaccurate nature of the preliminary (pre-migrational) information supplied from official sources.

Expectations with regard to the standard of living varied considerably. Among the single and younger married prospective immigrants, a definite improvement was expected. The acquisition of material objects, especially cars, was expected. For this type of immigrant, these were important (psychologically relevant) considerations, strongly held. Often this was the strongest single conscious motive for migrating to Rhodesia, to achieve conventional success in an acquisitive society. In the few cases where, after one year, this motive had not been fulfilled, discontent was clearly evident. Where material expectation was inaccurate because it had been pitched too high, however, discontent was less apparent. The difference here was determined by two considerations: (a) the fact of a higher European standard in Rhodesia than in Britain, and (b) the Rhodesian norm. Thus, if pre-migrational expectation had accurately reflected a standard that in fact most Europeans in Rhodesia of a certain occupational category enjoyed, but which the immigrant was himself for some reason unable to attain, then discontent was likely to result. But if the expectation had exceeded the Rhodesian norm which the immigrant had nevertheless attained, then little or no discontent was aroused. Thus, post-migrational achievement of the

local standard was more important than pre-migrational accuracy. Since expectation, as here defined, is predictive rather than aspirational, this is the finding that would have been anticipated.

Among older immigrants, expectation of a standard of living was found to be less important. Their expectations were, however, in most cases accurate. Migration was for them usually associated with the presence of relatives or close friends in the new country, who had appraised them of local conditions.

With regard to leisure, education, race relations and the local black and white population, expectations did not seem important. In most cases, they were naturally very limited and suffered the disadvantage that frequently it was the implicit assumption that led to disillusionment. Prospective immigrants tended to speak only of what they were reasonably sure corresponded to the facts. The problem of human relations, as examined in greater depth between the races will be separately considered below.

Before leaving the question of expectation there is an obverse side that deserves a mention. Several immigrants reported having an unexpected experience ranging from mild surprise to traumatic shock. In no case, however, was this sufficiently severe to disturb more than the speed of assimilation. The first

* In this connection, W.C. Smith has written "In his native country the immigrant acquired habits unconsciously and so long as they functioned efficiently he was no more conscious of them than a healthy boy of his liver." W.C. Smith, *Americans in the Making*. (New York 1939) p. 85.

impression was of much less importance than the course of financial and social prosperity. The most lasting effect upon migrational success was in the sphere of personal relations. The readiness or reluctance of strangers to help, the congeniality or repulsiveness of the initial work situation, and, the most impressionable sphere of all, the remark about Africans that was retained as a touchstone to be confirmed or exploded at the slightest hint of evidence. These early experiences, however, did not usually form images or influence the course of the assimilative process, rather were they used to confirm preconceptions and arouse latent attitudes. The one exception occurred in the matter of race relations when the first African could be of considerable importance in the development of an immigrant's subsequent attitude and behaviour. A kind word that elicited trust and co-operation, an unkind word that evoked fear and suspicion, apparent ingratitude, 'dishonesty' and 'immorality', willingness and a patent desire to please. The newly arrived immigrant became immediately aware of the ubiquitous problem of race relations, and was correspondingly impressionable. The domestic servant was for most immigrants the only sort of African with whom he had any sort of human relationship. Upon his behaviour would generally be based the newcomer's assessment of the African as a human being, to be judged (implicitly) against European standards.

Although first experiences were in this way important, both as bases for generalisation and as confirmation, or refutation, of the pre-migrational image, their importance should not be

exaggerated. The immigrant who expected Africans to be inferior would find considerable supporting evidence, just as the immigrant who expected them to be different but equal, or who declined to evaluate, was likely to have his views confirmed with equal facility. The main fact, when considering expectation in relation to race relations, was that the African domestic was an unfortunate but dominant exemplar of his people. Thus the immigrant who entered the new country with great enthusiasm and sympathy for 'the down-trodden African', found that the subtle and strong social pressures against this view, and towards a conforming racialism, were readily supported by his early, limited, but strongly toned experiences. When pro-African sentiments were associated with close identification and ego-involvement with the under-privileged, the shift to aggressive pro-European sentiments was the most sudden and severe, to be triggered by the first trifling incident. Thus one immigrant, a semi-skilled labourer, and a socialist of very strong convictions in Britain, expected to find Africans 'miserable, wretchedly treated, helpless, and deserving all the help I can give them' while the Europeans were 'a bunch of cruel, hard-working, get-rich-quick boys who exploited cheap native labour wherever they could'. After two months in Rhodesia, this immigrant had joined the right-wing pro-European Party. When asked how he accounted for the change, he replied with a list of his houseboy's minor deficiencies, such as his inability to tell the time, and to correctly estimate small change. At this level of sub-conscious motivation, expectation was irrelevant.

Dominant Motive.

The third factor predisposing towards migrational success was found to be the presence of a dominant conscious motive for migrating.

In the majority of cases, migration was motivated by a number of varied considerations. But for some immigrants there was a single reason that had clearly played a dominant role in determining the migrants decision to leave Britain in favour of Rhodesia. In such cases, two kinds of motive were distinguished according to whether the emphasis was placed on anticipation of the new country or discontent with the old. Where the former kind of motivation predominated this was designated positive, and where the latter, negative.

The presence of a dominant, conscious, positive motive exerted a powerful influence in favour of migrational success. It supplied a goal towards which the immigrant could strive, and was self-autonomous. Achievement of this goal was perceived by the immigrant as a form of personal achievement with gratification as its own reward, while the threat of failure was seen as a challenge to be overcome, for self-esteem to be maintained. Whether the significance of this factor was partially due to the fact that certain types of personality particularly suited for other reasons to migrational success were likely to be powered by such a motive, is a question that must remain open.

A dominating motive of the negative kind seemed associated with difficulties of adjustment. This may have been

due to the fact that the restless, rootless wanderer tended to locate the cause of his migrancy in deficiencies within the old countries rather than in peculiarities of his own personality. However this may be, the prognostic value of this symptom was strongly suggested by the evidence. Among the twenty cases of prospective migrants who experienced varying degrees of adjustment difficulty during the first year, fourteen had given as their main reason for having dis-satisfaction with Britain, compared with only one among the seventeen most rapidly successful cases.

Inter-Personal Relationship.

The presence of either a strong existing inter-personal relationship, or the potentiality for one, constituted the fifth predisposing factor. It was found among these cases, and confirmed by our other studies, that marital happiness was associated with migrational success. Conversely, a recent divorce or an unsatisfactory marital condition made personal adjustment to new conditions more difficult, even when this was itself a motive for migrating. The traumatic experience of divorce was something that could not be escaped by the mere fact of physical transition from one place to another, however separate in space the two places. On the other hand, a successful marriage acted as a buffer to the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, heightening the personal threshold of tolerance to external difficulties.

Among single immigrants, group solidarity acted analogously. An immigrant who was an ardent freemason or church-goer, an active member of some group with strong Rhodesian

connections, set forth with a clear advantage. In such cases, as with the maritally contented, there was less loneliness, less nostalgia, less brooding and boredom, less probability of feeling the odd-one-out, more human warmth and interest, more sympathy, more activity, more involvement outside of oneself. There was also a ready-made bridge between the old life and the new, across which new habits, new interests, new friends could flow at a congenial pace.

Finally, there was, from the predictive point of view, the implied guarantee that such an immigrant was able to enjoy meaningful and lasting human relationships, without which only a superficial level of migrational success could be possible.

Religious Affiliation.

Doubtless associated with the above factor, the presence of a strong religious affiliation appeared to increase the ease of adjustment.

In addition to providing a group within the new country into which the individual could immediately integrate with certain guaranteed similarities of interest and outlook, it increased the opportunity for rapid contact and provided a place of activity and refuge. For many immigrants, there was solace to be found that was not easily available elsewhere and, for single girls especially, certain Church activities were specifically designed to help the difficult phase of initial adjustment.

The unique position of the churches as organised groups in the context of assimilation is due to their having a shared set of values. Particularly with the first generation of

immigrants, self-esteem is primarily determined by what one perceives his evaluation would be by his chosen reference group. Since for a convinced churchman this group will most probably be that formed by his fellow churchmen, the changes necessitated by migration are likely to be more gradual.

There was no evidence in the present study to confirm what Mol¹ and others have suggested, that religious teaching itself plays a positive part in furthering assimilation. On the contrary, the indications in Rhodesia, where it might have been supposed that the matrix of social problems especially lent themselves to moral exhortation and example and to religious solace, church members seemed neither more nor less satisfied or assimilated. The following affirmation, for example, that "Catholicism is one of the most important means of promoting the assimilation of immigrants, and above all gives them a sense of the solidarity of mankind",^{*} seems strongly controverted by the evidence of this research.

The importance of church membership for the migrational process seemed to rest largely in the early, critical stages of adjustment.

Personal Adjustment to the Old Country.

From the predictive point of view, a close association was found between the broad indication of general adjustment to Britain obtained from the pre-migrational interview, and

* A.H.Neiva and M.Degues, writing of Brazil.
The Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants, UNESCO.1959, p.216.

subsequent adjustment in Rhodesia. This may have been due, at least in part, to the comparatively high number of volunteers for this analysis who had undergone some particular crisis in their life prior to departure. Two examples of apparent good adjustment in the old country leading to rapidly acquired satisfaction with the new, and two examples of apparent poor adjustment leading to early difficulties, are now given.

H.G. A tall, broad, Yorkshireman, with a prominent moustache and a slow, heavy accent.

He appeared to have been quite contented in his job and his life in England, and to have given the idea of immigration some serious thought. His objections to England seemed quite sincere. He had seen three specialists about his sinus trouble, and had been recommended to go out to the Rhodesian sunshine. Apparently this trouble began on his return from South Africa in 1945. He mentioned, as additional reasons for leaving England, the state of the roads (he is a sales representative), the rush hour and the 'herd instinct'. He was obviously ambitious, provided he had the comforts of his wife and the home, and he would be satisfied with little more from the outside world than the means for this. The type of life that he has lived in England has been very much with his own kind and contemporaries, and within this framework, he seemed content. He had investigated sufficiently into the changes and disadvantages of the move, to know what to expect. He was fairly sociable, and content without particularly close friendships.

Satisfaction Score after 6 months : 63

N.A. A young, good-looking, self-assured, forthright and financially comfortable Scot.

He was keen to express himself and gave the impression of being a contented person, with many interests and a youthful zest for life. He had benefited considerably from a very satisfactory and comfortable home background which had enabled him to encounter many opportunities, to try out and experience many things, without the imposition of many usual emotional or material risks and limits. He was well above average intelligence, and likely to be an asset in most circles. So far he had been developing these tools in a full but somewhat sheltered environment. There was a healthy ingenuous hunger for adventure and every indication of easy, unhurried, confident adjustment. Satisfaction Score, after 6 months : 65.

G.D. A well-built man of about 6'2" with a slightly clumsy and uncertain manner.

Mr.D seemed to be generally dis-satisfied with his lot; he had a chip on his shoulder about being born and bred in Birmingham, and at having seen so little of the world. He had never visited Wales, Scotland or even other parts of England. This seemed a little incongruous, revealing further the lack of initiative (reported earlier) and unrealistic attitude towards himself. His criterion of success appeared to be strongly financial, although he seemed dimly aware of its inadequacy. This was seen in his return to the bench for money, forsaking the more responsible position of foreman, despite the pride which the latter appointment aroused. He was a fairly submissive

character, in ways unable to cope with his responsibilities (e.g. he left his wife to cope with the sale of the house etc.). He was very conscious of his class position and his inability to save money, mentioning that as another reason for leaving England. His notion that the situation would be otherwise in Rhodesia seemed unrealistic, in view of his obvious ignorance and lack of enquiry into the financial and other prospects of the country. He had expensive hobbies for a working-class man (Grade C2 - skilled), such as membership of a dinner-dancing club, and dancing lessons.

The difficulties he appeared to have encountered in England seem to have been mainly related to himself and his personal problems. He appeared more concerned with his ability to make a decision and in doing something dramatically enterprising to boost his own ego, rather than in leaving England or going to Rhodesia. He certainly wanted to make a fresh start, and to leave the environment that he considered a reflection of himself.

Satisfaction Score after 9 months : 34.

R.R. Miss R. was a thin, round-shouldered woman who looked older than her age. She was self-conscious about herself and her appearance; she was loathe to wear spectacles, although she obviously couldn't see, and told the interviewer in the first five minutes that the main thing that worried her about preparations for going was her new set of false teeth, which she feared might fall out while meeting so many new people. She had a bad

cough and did not look in the best of health. She smoked heavily, holding the cigarette army-fashion (pointing inward to the palm).

She did not appear to be a very contented person in any aspects of her life; she was very conscious of her inadequacies and seems to have felt this from a very early age. Her twin's alleged superiority (from her angle) has affected her considerably, as also had trouble between her parents during adolescence. There was a strong paranoidal tendency, with associated guilt feelings towards those with whom she formed any personal attachment. She did not appear to make successful relationships in her employment, although this probably resulted initially from herself and her projections. She seemed afraid of her own ideas and thoughts, particularly in relation to her twin and her mother. There was considerable aggression under the surface of what might appear to be a mild 'nursing kind' of person.

A recent hysterectomy and poor health had given rise to depression and increased inferiority feelings. She was the more delicate and sensitive of the twins from the start, in all respects, and it seemed probable that her sensitivity to this has itself retarded her.

She was becoming more and more desperate so that she was almost 'squeezed' out of England away from herself and her contacts. This was a suggestion that had come largely from others, and she had been persuaded into it; that is, she was going on the strength of an acute 'anxiety drive' and the strength to go had been gradually gained from others. She had for long allowed her mother to dominate any ideas of marriage, and her activities had been

surprisingly masculine, e.g. an army corporal, and a van-driver. In general, her adjustment to life in England has been extremely inadequate.

Satisfaction Score after 8 months : 41.

An intensive interview, conducted by a qualified and experienced interviewer, was capable of providing an accurate indication of the likelihood of successful migration, even when conditions in the new country were not accurately known by either. The more extreme the adjustment or maladjustment in the old country, the more diagnostic was this factor. The act of migration only determined the degree of personal ^{*} adjustment when other factors were relatively closely balanced.

Beliefs and attitudes regarding Negroes.

The final predisposing factor identified was the prospective immigrant's beliefs and attitudes towards negroes and race-relations between them and the Europeans.

In broad outline, three categories were differentiated, the uncommitted, the ethnocentric and the liberal.

The first, who were the large uncommitted majority, comprised those who, while reasonably open-minded, were prepared to accept the need for a measure of segregation. In such cases there was often a latent predisposition to change that augured well for migrational success. The following extract is a typical exemplar of this pre-migrational attitude from a middle-aged female divorcee:

* as opposed to social adjustment.

Q. How do you expect to find the Africans where you are going?

A. I have no idea really. It's easy to say how terribly they are treated, but after all, we don't have to live with them. I don't think I would like them around the house, though I must say I feel rather beastly about it. I mean they have different habits, don't they, and they live in squalor. I don't think it's very democratic over there, and the natives are badly fed and poorly paid.

Q. Do you think they could live in a civilised manner?

A. I doubt it, because of their lack of education. But perhaps if they were taught.

This group was without any moral or personal reason likely to prevent a ready acceptance of the prevalent norm. In this way satisfaction and migrational fulfilment were facilitated.

The second group, the ethnocentrics, comprised those who were already convinced, whether by previous experience, unreasoned prejudice, or a premature 'set' to conform, that the African was in all important respects inferior and that strict measures were necessary to retain white dominance. The following is an example from a married middle-aged man, who had once spent three years in Kenya:

Q. How do you expect to find the Africans where you are going?

A. About the same as in Kenya, though things are better organised (in Rhodesia).

Q. Would you say your attitude was in favour of the

negroes or have you little use for them?

A. I'd say I was just tolerant of them.

Q. Do you think that Africans should be treated equally?

A. Certainly not. You see, we're too late; if we'd gone out before, with more young men willing to work, they (the Africans) wouldn't have got in, and there wouldn't be the trouble there is with them now.

Q. Do you think it is because of their lack of education or .. ?

A. Oh no it isn't, they'd be the same if they had been at school in England; they just haven't got it in them - they can't learn like we can - it's to do with their minds or I suppose you might call it their intelligence. You can see it in the colleges there, from the number of breakdowns - they try, but they just can't do it; it's beyond their capacity, and they shouldn't try. They just haven't got what it takes, and can't do the same jobs. (Later) Well, I thought you'd be asking me my opinion about Apartheid, but as you haven't I'll just say a few words about it. It's like this: there are two herds of rhinoceros in Kenya. They are alike but for one thing - one herd has a straight horn, and the other a curved one. Those two herds never meet - they always keep apart; and you know what happens when they do meet - there's bloodshed. So you see, apartheid is a natural thing - you see it through-out nature.

During the follow-up period, the members of this group had been without exception remarkably successful in attaining

personal and social adjustment.

There is evidence from our case histories, however, that as time passes and as the situation increasingly demands a closer measure of co-operation between the races, this ethnocentric group will come to find adjustment more difficult. They were like rocks of reaction that the oncoming tide had submerged but could not move.

The third group consisted of those who, either out of moral conviction or because of a predisposition to identify themselves with the under-privileged, regarded the African as the unfortunate victim of exploitation and oppression, whom education and example could make equal or superior.

No extreme example of this type was included in the sample of prospective immigrants. The closest approximation was the following:

Q. How do you expect to find the Africans where you are going?

A. I think they will be nice, and that they have had a hard time. They are biased too, and have a right to be so. They have the same capacity as ourselves, but have never had the same opportunities. After all, you would expect a person brought up in a cage to behave differently from one who hasn't, wouldn't you?

Q. What would you say was your attitude towards negroes?

A. I am very favourable to them. I think they have been abominably treated in the past, and that we have a debt that I, for my part, will do my best to repay.

Although this type of response was not adequately covered in the pre-migrating sample, it seemed, from other observation, necessary to distinguish between a rational and an emotional basis for pro-Africanism. Where the liberal attitude was predominantly rational, migrational success was likely to be less impeded, particularly if the immigrant belonged to one of the higher occupational echelons where greater tolerance was shown towards such atypical attitudes. Some dilution generally occurred, especially if the immigrant had had no previous first-hand experience of the untutored African and his tribal environment.

When, however, extreme liberalism was based upon emotional factors such as ego-involvement with the under-privileged, or an active hostility towards the European in-group, rationalised as criticism of their racial policies, the assimilative level seldom exceeded the satisfaction phase. At the same time, there were some immigrants who, denied any analagous outlet for this type of aggressive emotion in the old country, had become more contented in the new on account of it. In such cases, therefore, although the assimilative potential remained impeded when compared to other migrants, it had been enhanced when compared to their own previous possibilities.

It was not possible within the scope of the present research, to assess the comparative weight which might be attributed to each of these seven predisposing factors.

ATTITUDE CHANGE.

Four aspects of attitude change as measured by a shortened version of the Rogers-Frantz questionnaire were considered in relation to migrational success, as determined by satisfaction-score during the first year in the new country.

The first two aspects will be considered in turn, and the last two together.

1. Pre-migrational Score.

The mean score of the immigrant sample was 3.87. The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between pre-migrational score and satisfaction score, measured after 6 to 8 months, was $-.16$. Thus, there was the suggestion of a slight tendency for the higher-scoring on the attitude scale, that is the less liberal, to become more quickly satisfied in the new environment.

2. Assessment of Rhodesian norm.

33 of the 37 prospective immigrants examined considered that the Rhodesian norm would be lower than their own pre-migrational score. The overall mean assessment was 3.08. No association was found between, on the one hand, accuracy or assessment or variation between assessment and personal score and, on the other, satisfaction score. Thus, whatever the factors determining predictive accuracy may have been they did not appear to be directly associated with migrational success.

Each of the four subjects whose assessment of the Rhodesian norm exceeded their own score appeared to have made unusually quick personal and social adjustment. All these cases
 * This is to form the subject of a separate study.

however, were closer than the average pre-migrational norm to the Rhodesian, which would be sufficient to account for their success.

3. Predicted and Actual Change.

The mean change predicted by the group for itself was 0.67. During the first six/eight months immediately following migration, the mean change that actually occurred was 1.03, from 3.87 to 2.90. These figures do not, however, accurately reflect the degree of change since this occurred in both directions. With the direction of change omitted from the calculation the mean shift was equal to 1.23 points.

The problem of personal change was analysed in terms of
1) its accuracy, 1i) its direction, both predicted and actual,
and 11i) its range, both predicted and actual.

The accuracy of the initial prediction, as determined by a comparison between the predicted mean and the actual mean (obtained after six/eight months), was compared with migrational success, as determined by satisfaction score and the interviewer's assessment of personal and social adjustment.

The range of predictive accuracy was large, from 3.4 in the wrong direction, to exact precision. The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between accuracy and satisfaction score was .21. This may be partly attributed to the fact that immigrants who are able to assess objectively the effects upon them of a new environment are better equipped to adjust themselves to its demands. It was also noticed, however, that a tendency existed for the lower-scorers, whose mean range of change was

slightly lower, to be more accurate in their forecast. The gap between their own mean and the new frame of reference was lower, and in the ensuing trend towards attitudinal conformity, there was therefore less room for error.

The direction of change was away from extremes towards the middling-high ranges of the continuum. Thus whereas the standard deviation of pre-migrational scores was 0.79, for scores after six/eight months it was 0.58. The general trend was towards lower (i.e. less liberal) scores. Since this occurred in 81% of cases (30), it was impossible to confirm the hypothesis that the direction of change was relevant to migrational success. In the seven cases which produced a more liberal score, the changes were slight and apparently insignificant, all but one occurring in low-scorers.

As already noted, the range of change, both predicted and actual, was extensive. No direct association was found, however, between either the forecast range or the actual range, and satisfaction. The numbers in the sample were too small to be sensitive to whatever slight association there may have been between these factors. Whilst it seems probable that direction is more important than range, it may also be the case that an abnormal range may sometimes indicate 'compensation' and the violent change that sometimes occurs, particularly in those cases, already recorded, where there occurs a sudden all-or-none type shift of ego-involvement.

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

The relative smallness of the sample prevented any

comprehensive use of the schedule.

For the purpose of the present enquiry the rank order was recorded for each percentile and for each satisfaction score, obtained during the six/eight month period. The aim was to determine whether any of the manifest personality traits measured by this test might be associated with the ability to rapidly achieve a comparatively high measure of satisfaction.

Only two of the fifteen variables produced a rank-order correlation which, with $N = 37$, satisfied Olds' .05 level of significance. These were affiliation ($p = .312$) and change ($p = .309$).

Both of these variables had been found positively associated with migrational success among the general case-studies. The ability to make new friends and to enjoy friendships, and the manifest need for environmental change, each tended to facilitate rapid personal adjustment. To this extent, but no further, the E.P.P.S. proved itself a sensitive predictive test. No negative correlations were obtained, indicating that this schedule was insensitive to the factors that prevented early adjustment.

If these results could be confirmed with a larger sample of prospective immigrants, the difference between their correlations and those obtained for assimilative level among the general case-studies could then be compared. The difference would then suggest which of the variables measured by this schedule were relevant to assimilative potential but not to rapid adjustment. This would in turn teach us more about the factors and processes of each.

Our study of prospective immigrants before their departure from Britain shows that an intensive interview is capable of providing an accurate assessment of the probability of successful migration, even when conditions in the host country are largely unknown by either interviewer or interviewee. The more extreme adjustment or maladjustment in the old country, the more prognostic does this factor become.

The five most predictive psychological variables analysed were found to be:

i) the presence of a dominant, conscious positive motive supplying a goal towards which the immigrant could strive;

ii) the presence of a strong, intimate personal relationship unbroken by the act of migration. This could be actual, as in the case of a happily married couple (and children), or potential, as instanced by the active churchgoer or freemason;

iii) the accuracy and relevance of personal expectation, corresponding in kind to the migrational motive. Thus a shop assistant emigrating in search of excitement and a higher standard of living would probably succeed since, during the time of the research at least, Rhodesian shop assistants earned a larger income and enjoyed a higher and easier standard of living than in Britain;

iv) the appropriateness and significance of pre-migrational aspiration. The shop-assistant mentioned above might aspire to managerial status and to marriage. For both, the opportunity in Rhodesia was greater;

v) what have been categorised, in race attitudes, as the uncommitted and the ethnocentric, accommodated more readily than the racially liberal, although there was a suggestion that the ethnocentric may find it more difficult to adjust with changing political developments.

There is, however, one qualification to the above, that must be repeated. Post-migrational attainment of the new local standard is more relevant to migrational success than the accuracy of pre-migrational expectancy.

PART V.

CHAPTER VIII

The Study of Two Residential Groups.

Two hostels for girls in the Salisbury area were selected for study. At the time the research was undertaken, these were the only places of communal residence in the city for either men or women. Their value for our work was enhanced by the fact that a very large proportion of the residents of both were either born in Rhodesia or newly-arrived immigrants in Rhodesia.

Hostel A was administered by a voluntary church association, and contained forty-four residents, of whom the slight majority had been born in Rhodesia outside Salisbury. Hostel B was administered by a local committee, and run in association with the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women. There were 67 residents of whom slightly the larger number came from Britain.

The co-operation of every resident was invited, and those who accepted - thirtyone in Hostel A and sixtytwo in Hostel B - were interviewed (Appendix VI schedule F 26). They also completed the Likert-type satisfaction scale, the anomia scale, the F-scale and a brief questionnaire relating to race relations.

As Newcomb has pointed out, membership in established groups usually involves the taking on of whole patterns of inter-related behaviour and attitudes. In the two communities under

consideration, newly arrived immigrants experienced their first contact with the new and most socially dominant attitudinal norms. In Rhodesia these related to relations between the races. Thus, whilst it is important to preserve the distinction between reference and membership groups, the existence of certain approved attitudes acts as a positive point of reference which, because of the critically formative period for young immigrants, was here expected to have added potency.

The primary purposes of the present study were therefore the following.

1. To determine the extent to which these places of residence acted as reference groups for new immigrants.
2. To discover, within the limits imposed by the working hypothesis used in the initial framing of the interview, the main factors associated with prestige, and its association, if any, with assimilative level.
3. To determine the nature of the association, if any, between prestige, popularity and attitudes towards Africans.
4. To consider the comparative assimilative levels of the residents of both places, and to seek an explanation of differences.

In order to facilitate this comparison, the results obtained from each will be considered in turn. Table 61 shows some of the more important measurements obtained from each.

TABLE 61.Comparative results from Hostel A and Hostel B.

	Rhodesians.	Immigrants.	Overall Mean.
<u>Hostel A.</u>			
Satisfaction Score.	60	48	54
Race Score.	5.6	4.8	5.1
Do Residents agree about Race problems? (✓-x-?)	11-0-2	12-5-1	<u>Totals</u> 25-5-3
<u>Hostel B.</u>			
Satisfaction Score,	56	51	53
Race Score.	5.6	5.1	5.3
Do Residents agree about Race problems? (✓-x-?)	10-17-9	17-18-1	<u>Totals</u> 27-35-10

The four characteristics commonly used as focal points of criticism of Africans were intelligence (poor), morality (low), ambition (lacking), and a sense of responsibility (absent).

1. All the girls were therefore asked the four questions.

1) As far as intelligence is concerned, would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans are in general:

- a) superior to Europeans (scored 3)
- b) similar to Europeans (scored 2)
- c) inferior to Europeans (scored 1)

ii) As far as morality is concerned, would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans are in general:

- a) superior to Europeans (scored 3)
- b) similar to Europeans (or
totally incomparable) (scored 2)
- c) inferior to Europeans (scored 1)

iii) As far as personal ambition is concerned, would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans have in general:

- a) greater ambition than Europeans (scored 3)
- b) A similar amount to Europeans (scored 2)
- c) less ambition than Europeans (scored 1)

iv) As far as accepting responsibility is concerned, do you think that, compared to Europeans, Africans are in general:

- a) better able to accept responsibility (scored 3)
- b) equally well able to accept
responsibility (scored 2)
- c) less well able to accept
responsibility (scored 1)

In addition, three further questions were asked as a check. These related to the rate of African advancement, the principle of equal pay for the same job, and the separation of African and European housing areas. These question were used only as a broad guide and were not intended as a scale. (For this purpose the Rogers-Frantz schedule was preferred).

The maximum possible score, suggesting strong pro-African tendencies, was twelve, the minimum score was four. In the sample of the general population supplied by case-studies, the overall mean was 5.5 In hostel A, the mean was 5.1, in hostel B

5.3. But the mean for immigrants from Britain of less than two years residence in both hostels (N = 43) was 5.0. The difference between this score and the case study mean was statistically significant at the .05 level. A random sample was then obtained from a control group of 47 British immigrants, of equal length of residence, who lived either alone or who shared a flat. The mean obtained from this group was 7.1. The mean for twentyfour prospective immigrants, using the same set of questions before arrival was 7.9. These results indicate the relative strength of influence of attitude change obtained a) from one year's residence in the country equal to approximately one point, and b) from one year's residence in a hostel, equal to approximately three points. By the same token, the potency of these hostels as reference groups in race attitudes was equal to two points by the scoring method adopted.

Both these differences satisfied the .05 level of significance. *

Incorporated in the interview was the question: "Do you think that in general residents tend to hold views about race in common?".

In hostel A, 74% agreed and 10% were uncertain; in hostel B only, 36.5% agreed and 14% were uncertain and 49.5% believed there were differences. Hostel A had no policy with regard to the numbers accepted from Rhodesia and from outside, nor was

* The relevance of this influence to assimilation level will be considered under heading 4.

any distinction made in the treatment of either. Hence there was no built-in awareness of discrimination between them. This was reflected in the groups that formed within the hostel. These cut across country of origin and length of residence, each of which was regarded by most of the inhabitants as irrelevant.

The two important points are that whilst in this hostel the same differences between immigrants and Rhodesians existed, they were not consciously perceived and they did not therefore have the same relevance in the formation of its social structure. The girls were not conditioned to believing that there was any difference, and there were no discriminatory measures in the hostel's administration to act as nuclei for such a belief. Nevertheless, although this enabled patterns of friendship to exclude considerations of migrational differences, thus reducing the salience of the immigrant group, it did not alter the pre-eminence of the hostel as a reference group. The differences between immigrants and Rhodesians remained virtually the same. In contrast Hostel B did discriminate between Rhodesians and others, the former being given preferential treatment by the management, (e.g. choice of rooms) and immigrants, many of whom felt they were accepted on sufferance, merely because of the long-standing agreement with a British-based association that could not easily be broken. This distinction resulted in little contact between two separate social groups, the Rhodesians and the immigrants, between whom there was little contact and

considerable misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the same differences regarding satisfaction score and race attitudes existed. The potency of the hostel as a reference group, as indicated by the control groups results already mentioned, remained.

2. During the interview, the following question was asked as an indicator of prestige:

"Please give the initials of three residents whom you would choose to represent (the hostel) at an international conference of similar bodies."

In hostel A, three girls (AMH, ML and MMC) between them received 73% of the votes cast. The following facts emerged from an examination of their own data and a subsequent interview.

1. Country of Origin.

Two of the three girls with the highest prestige were born in Rhodesia. They were chosen by Rhodesians and immigrants in equal proportions.

2. Satisfaction Score.

The two Rhodesian girls had scores that fell within five points of the Rhodesian mean (60); the English girl was lower by ten T points although she approximately corresponded to the immigrant mean (48). The extent to which they had grown satisfied with Rhodesia as a place in which to live had there-

fore apparently not affected their prestigious position. Since only one of these girls received more than two votes in response to the question 'Name three residents whom you think have most accepted Rhodesia as a place in which to live and work', neither did their perceived assimilation appear to be a factor. This finding was taken to substantiate the view that Rhodesia did not yet project a strong image of national identity even among the young. It remained more an environment to be exploited than a country to which to belong. This was an outlook that implicitly pervaded the entire European community.

Race Attitude.

Two of the three 'leaders' were markedly illiberal, believing the African to be inferior on all counts. Yet, in response to the question "Among residents, mention three whom you would say have the least advance (illiberal) attitudes in race affairs", one was not mentioned, and the other two received only one vote each, in spite of the fact that no fewer than twenty-seven girls were nominated. Thus, for a position of prestige, it seemed that strong anti-African attitudes tended to be admired, but they should not appear extreme. The immigrant chosen held more uncompromising views than the majority of other immigrants in the hostel.

The probable irrelevance of race attitudes was however supported by the fact that AMH, the third girl chosen as a representative, scored 10 points on the questionnaire, and received the largest number of votes as one of the three most

'liberal' residents.

Group Memberships.

Each of these girls held 'very strong' religious convictions but only 'moderate' or 'weakly' held political opinions.

The community was oriented to Church activities, in spite of the absence of any religious conviction held more than 'moderately' by 60% of the residents. Thus we are here dealing with community-oriented prestige. These girls, each of whom were in the same friendship constellation, held their position partly because their community role was perceived to be in accordance with the forces holding the community together. By their beliefs, and their activities as quietly proselytising Christians, they added what Kelly has called 'salience' to the group. This was of far greater potency in determining their choice than their country of origin, in spite of the apparent dramatic contrast in background between residents - Rhodesian-born and new immigrants. This demonstrated again the 'open-ness' of Rhodesian society and the weakness of a national image or any strongly-held feelings of national identity. (In this regard, in response to the question 'Please give four short answers to the question "what are you?"', only five girls, two of them South African born, included 'Rhodesian' among their responses, and in four of these cases, it was the last item of description to be mentioned.)

Perceived Assimilation.

Residents were asked to name the three girls who had most accepted Rhodesia as a place in which to live and work.

ML, one of the two Rhodesian-born 'leaders' received more than twice as many votes as the next girl. Neither of the other girls, however, received more than two votes. This was therefore an irrelevant factor.

In hostel B, with almost twice as many residents and a pronounced dichotomy between immigrants and Rhodesians, two girls received between them one third of the total votes, the remaining choices being dispersed among 38 others.

Country of Origin.

As expected, one (FP) was Rhodesian and the other (CG) was an immigrant from Britain. Each attracted votes almost entirely from her own national group. The social structure was such that the two groups did not freely mix, dining (through choice) at separate tables, and sleeping (through administrative policy) on separate floors. Thus there was little opportunity for members of one group to become acquainted with members of the other.

Satisfaction Score.

FP's score of 57 was within three points of the Rhodesian norm in the hostel, while CG's score of 44 fell below the immigrant norm by 4 points.

Race Attitude.

FP's score of 6, corresponded to the Rhodesian norm (5.6) while CG's score of 8 was considerably in excess of the immigrant norm (4.8).

Group Membership.

As in hostel A, both girls had strong religious associations. FP held 'strong' religious convictions and was a committee member of the Diocesan Guild of Bellringers, as well as being Skipper of a Sea Ranger Crew. CG held 'very strongly' religious convictions and subsequently entered a South African nunnery.

Each was respected by the other girls for her 'firm principles' and sympathy; whereas CG found it difficult to break through the boundaries imposed by her natural reserve so that Rhodesian girls tended to find her 'aloof', FP was equally at home in both groups, although more firmly established in and widely accepted by, her fellow Rhodesians.

The more positive position of FP, however, had an interesting corollary in that she was unpopular among a small group of immigrants who regarded her with envy. Thus she was mentioned by five girls as one of the three most 'irritating' inhabitants.

Perceived Assimilation.

The irrelevance of this as a factor in prestige was fully confirmed. Neither FP nor CG was once mentioned as among the three best assimilated.

3. It has already been established that while attitudes towards Africans were influenced by residence in these hostels, the reasons for this appear to be different, at least in emphasis. Hostel A was a more integrated social unit, and was therefore probably a more potent reference group. In hostel B, although residence appears to have influenced these attitudes in about equal measure, the process of attitude change must have been different since the two groups of immigrants and Rhodesians were virtually exclusive to one another. The suggested explanation is twofold. First, the presence of 'feed-back' whereby the normative Rhodesian attitude and behaviour towards Africans had an influence, if only by example. (The presence of hostility between the groups was confined to only a few girls and was not strong enough to motivate contrary behaviour in either as an overt sign of revolt). Second, the fact that group activity and solidarity reinforced the early conditioning of the immigrant towards illiberality in race relations. Early acquaintance with "inferior" Africans, shared inconvenience and unfortunate experiences were discussed and in the process would become embellished. In this way, by facilitating channels of communication, illiberalism was consolidated. In this connection it is interesting that in hostel B, although the immigrants scored less on the race scale than the Rhodesians, (a result duplicated in hostel A) almost half the Rhodesians thought the immigrants too liberal. Their stereotyped image had not been eradicated.

The presence of sanctions placing African sympathisers at a

social disadvantage, either explicitly by some form of discrimination, or implicitly by social ostracism or disregard, were not observed. In neither place were the girls selected as being the most 'liberal' selected also as being either the most irritating or the least well adjusted to hostel life. Thus the influence of these hostels in changing attitudes was more indirectly catalytic than directly formative.

Attitudes would change anyway but by entering these hostels they changed more quickly. The reference was less to the group than to the experiences confirmed and repeated by the group.

4. The mean satisfaction score was almost the same in each hostel (53 and 54). The range between the mean Rhodesian and Immigrant scores varied, however, that for hostel A being double the range in hostel B. The three highest and the three lowest scorers among the immigrants in each were examined in more detail for evidence of causation. The three lowest in hostel A had scores of 34, 42 and 46, and in hostel B of 15, 27 and 40. In hostel A, the three highest scores among immigrants were 57, 55, and 52, and in hostel B, 67, 65 and 65.

Marital Status.

One of the lows was divorced and three of the highs were engaged; the remaining eight were single.

The divorcee was an unhappy person with no religious conviction and a disillusionment with men that had jaundiced

her general outlook. She was not a good mixer and was finding hostel life restricting.

The three engaged subjects were clearly enjoying a measure of euphoria.

Educational Attainment.

Only one of the lows had passed the equivalent of a school leaving certificate, compared with four of the highs.

Country of Origin.

Three of the lows were from South Africa and three from England. Similarly, three of the highs were South African, one from England, one from Scotland and one Dutch.

Length of Residence.

Four of the lows had been resident less than a year, the other two had been in Rhodesia for at least ten years. One of the highs was a new immigrant, the others had all been in the country four years or longer.

Group Memberships.

Two of the lows did not belong to any voluntary group and two were active in their local church. Among the highs, five did not belong to any organisation and the sixth belonged only to the overseas visitors club.

Reasons for Coming to Rhodesia.

The motives did not materially differ between the two groups.

General Sentiment towards Rhodesia and Rhodesians.

The six responses from the lows were as follows:-

LT (27). "Uninteresting geographically, though politically interesting. Europeans who have been here any length of time are uninteresting and think only of giving Africans the dirty work, and making money. They don't appear to have much zest for life and appear unhappy under the surface. Rhodesian girls are shallow and interested chiefly in boys. Immigrant girls are generally more interested in what is going on here, and more perceptive. Rhodesian men are out for easy meat or a wife, and sport. Immigrant men hope to make a better living here and very often are misfits in England."

GS (40). "No strong feelings yet but wouldn't stand up and defend it. Europeans here are not of the best type but (hostel) girls are of the best type. Rhodesian girls are nice but I haven't met any Rhodesian men yet. Things go to the immigrant men's heads; they are no-one at home, but someone out here."

LP (15). "Belongs to the kaffirs or will, very shortly. As for the Europeans, some of them are useless bastards. Immigrant men are the biggest lot of pansies; the girls are alright after a few years out here. Rhodesian girls are useless, spoilt by too much

care from servants." (During the Mau-Mau revolt in Kenya when this girl was sixteen, she had shot dead an African who was endeavouring to assault her. She was now very anti-African).

AW (34). "It's a beautiful country with a lot of chancers. There are a lot of immigrants who come here because they think they can make a lot of money easily but that's not true. I don't like girls from U.K. because they generally have their parents' views on racial problems which I don't agree with. I can't stick English men, the rest are O.K. Immigrants are just a lot of cissies, I can't bear their bellywhite complexions, particularly the men. The majority of Africans are still uncivilised cannibals."

TW (42). "Rhodesia is too full of money-grabbers and cheap tarts. Everyone is out for themselves and the devil take the hindmost. I'd sooner be back in England any day. As for the people, the climate and artificial living changes them in a few weeks."

SS (47). "This is a pleasant country if you don't mind doing nothing but watching sports and going out with men, but I miss a spot of culture. It's very difficult to meet decent people, or any people come to that. As soon as I can save enough to leave, I'm off."

These quotations are useful as human documents conveying the stereotyped responses that cover a multitude of causes for

satisfaction, and its opposite. In Rhodesia's favour is generally said to be the climate, the standard and ease of living, the freedom from restriction; to its detriment are reports of its materialistic lack of culture, its Africans, and its distance from the sea.

The six highs were generally less explicit.

PB (65). "A good, friendly country, though immigrants tend to be dis-satisfied."

HB (67). "First class. Rhodesians too are first class, immigrants third class. Rhodesian morals are higher; less interested in world affairs, more in sport."

PB (65). "A good country. It's very unfortunate about political and racial tensions. We're taking the African too fast. British attitude to the African is wrong and this is unfair to the Rhodesians. Most Rhodesians are generous, decent and hospitable, though some are a bit immoral. Most immigrant girls are lonely, without social contacts and with no way of meeting others. Rhodesian girls are mostly very spoilt and some are horrible little girls; expect too much. Most Rhodesian chaps are alright."

JS (57). "It has a great future and everyone is in general very pleasant. Rhodesian girls grow up too quickly, have far too much of their own way, stick around cafes and are far too interested in boys. The boys are too cocksure of themselves, stupid and reckless. What I like about it here is the countryside and the money."

JF (52). "It has great potential. I liked Tanganyika and this is like it so I like Rhodesia."

AT (55). "A wonderful climate, strong-looking men, good wages, friendly people, and a free-and-easy way of living and approach to life."

Satisfaction with Economic Condition.

Only one of the lows was satisfied, whereas all the highs were satisfied or extremely satisfied.

Number of Jobs.

The number of jobs did not appear to be a factor affecting satisfaction. There was an extreme shortage of stenographers and most employees were able to change their employment without difficulty or compromise. Girls who were contented in their employment were more likely to feel satisfied with the new country in general, but girls who were less happily employed were easily able to seek a more satisfying alternative. The only exception encountered was a group of single radiologists who were requested by their radiographer to reside in a hostel. Two of these girls, while unwilling to forsake the employment of their choice, for which they had received specialised training, were unhappy in what seemed to them the cloistered, rigid atmosphere of a hostel, with its system of late keys, communal feeding and set times.

The general picture that emerges is a reinforcement of the contention that although membership of one of the hostels reduced the strain of early adjustment and alleviated nostalgia for the new arrival, its influence did not thereafter endure. The factors that eventually decide assimilative level operate in equal measure, irrespective of the quality or quantity of group membership. It is only the speed of their operation which is usually affected.

This study of two Salisbury hostels for girls suggests that these places of residence have greater influence for assimilation as meeting places where primary groups of two or three friends come together than, in a wider context, as reference groups. It was the case, however, that both places produced a higher mean satisfaction score than the overall mean, and that the racial attitudes among their recent immigrants conformed more closely to the Rhodesian norm than the equivalent figure obtained from immigrants living independently. But there was no evidence that race attitudes affected prestige.

Prestige was seen to depend not on attitudes or demographic characteristics nor on the publicly assessed degree of assimilation but on community-oriented (religious) values, and on sociability. This may be associated with the open nature of Rhodesian society and the weakness of a national image, and also

with the virtue of friendliness, the worth of easy 'getting-alongness', characteristic of a frontier society and noted in Chapter I.

The potency of the hostels as reference groups for race attitudes remained irrespective of the degree of separation within them in terms of country of origin. The explanation suggested for this unexpected finding was twofold. In the first place, the presence of feed-back whereby the normative Rhodesian attitude and behaviour had an influence, if only by precept, was active in the discriminating hostel B. In the second place, the fact that group activity and solidarity reinforced the early conditioning of the immigrant toward illiberality in race relations. Shared inconveniences and unhappy experiences with Africans would be discussed and thus channels of communication, at least on these topics, would be opened. In this connection it was noticed that, although immigrants in hostel B scored less on the race scale than Rhodesians, almost half the Rhodesians thought the immigrants too liberal. Apparently communications were not sufficient to eradicate the image of the immigrant.

In other words, it is argued that the reference group was not so much the hostel as a whole but rather the primary groups established within the hostel. The strong motivation to be socially accepted in the new country among newly arrived immigrants prevented any serious rift occurring between the two groups in hostel B.

PART VI.

CHAPTER IX.

The present study concludes with an attempt to integrate the most salient data to emerge from the different lines of enquiry that have been opened. It is hoped that this account will not have omitted too much that is of importance.

The material presented will be organised into five separate but closely associated parts. The first covers general features of the European population, the second concerns psychological variables, the third sociological variables, the fourth examines the reciprocal relationship between these variables, and the chapter concludes with a brief summary and suggested leads for further research.

An attempt has been made throughout to substantiate generalisation by reference to ascertained fact.

I. General features of the European Population.

a) The migration of Europeans from South Africa and the United Kingdom to Southern Rhodesia has been continuous since 1901. The migration rate, reproduced in Appendix IV, shows that the only sudden change was immediately following the last world war when it reached 1 : 2. The pattern is therefore one of steady influx reaching its peak in 1946/8.

The selection of immigrants is 'a particularly obscure area of policy',^{*} although personal information made available to the

* See Leys, Ibid p.75

author indicated that a quota (never made public) maintaining a slight monthly excess of British-born over South African-born immigrants was lifted in 1960. This is reflected in table 77. Since 1954, consequent upon the Immigration Act of that year, the monthly quota of non-British immigrants granted permits of residence remained constant at 300. The last available figure for total white population estimated it at 223,000 (1960).

b) Although the proportion of South African- and British-born whites is almost equal, there is a trend for an increasing proportion of the younger age-groups to be Rhodesian-born. Among other nationalities the most important ethnic minorities are Portuguese (2570), Italians (1871), Netherlanders (1853), Germans (1823), Greeks (1479), Americans (847) leaving 6,241 from other non-British territories. As, however, these figures are derived from the 1956 census since when certain policy changes have occurred, they are rather out-dated. It is estimated that during the four years elapsing between the census and the present research, the Hollander and Italian communities each grew by approximately 2000, the Portuguese, American and German each by about 1000, and the Greeks by 500. Each of these groups, therefore, was a numerically important minority, especially when it is remembered that with the exception of the Italians, the large majority of each lived in the Salisbury region.

Other aspects of European society, its youthfulness and mobility, its occupational specificity and spatial mobility,

have been referred to in Chapter II.

e) There are three aspects of dispersion that we shall consider. The first is geographical dispersion. This is an important determining factor in absorption for if ethnic minorities remain too closely resident, their tendency to retain their own cultural patterns and traits is naturally greater. If, on the other hand, individuals are so scattered on arrival that there is little opportunity to lessen the initial cultural shock on arrival in the new country, then individual assimilation is likely to be retarded. In this connection Speck has argued that there is an optimum size for rural immigrant families of between fifteen and twenty-five.

Unfortunately the statistics available and the comparatively small numbers involved have made an exact appreciation of the situation impossible. The accompanying map, however, gives some idea of the relative rural dispersal rates for each of the main immigrant groups. It will be noticed that the areas of white settlement are comparatively few, and that in most cases the zones of minority settlements are focalised around a national group of not less than ten. The minority showing greatest rural dispersion is the Hollanders, and the ethnic group showing least is the German.

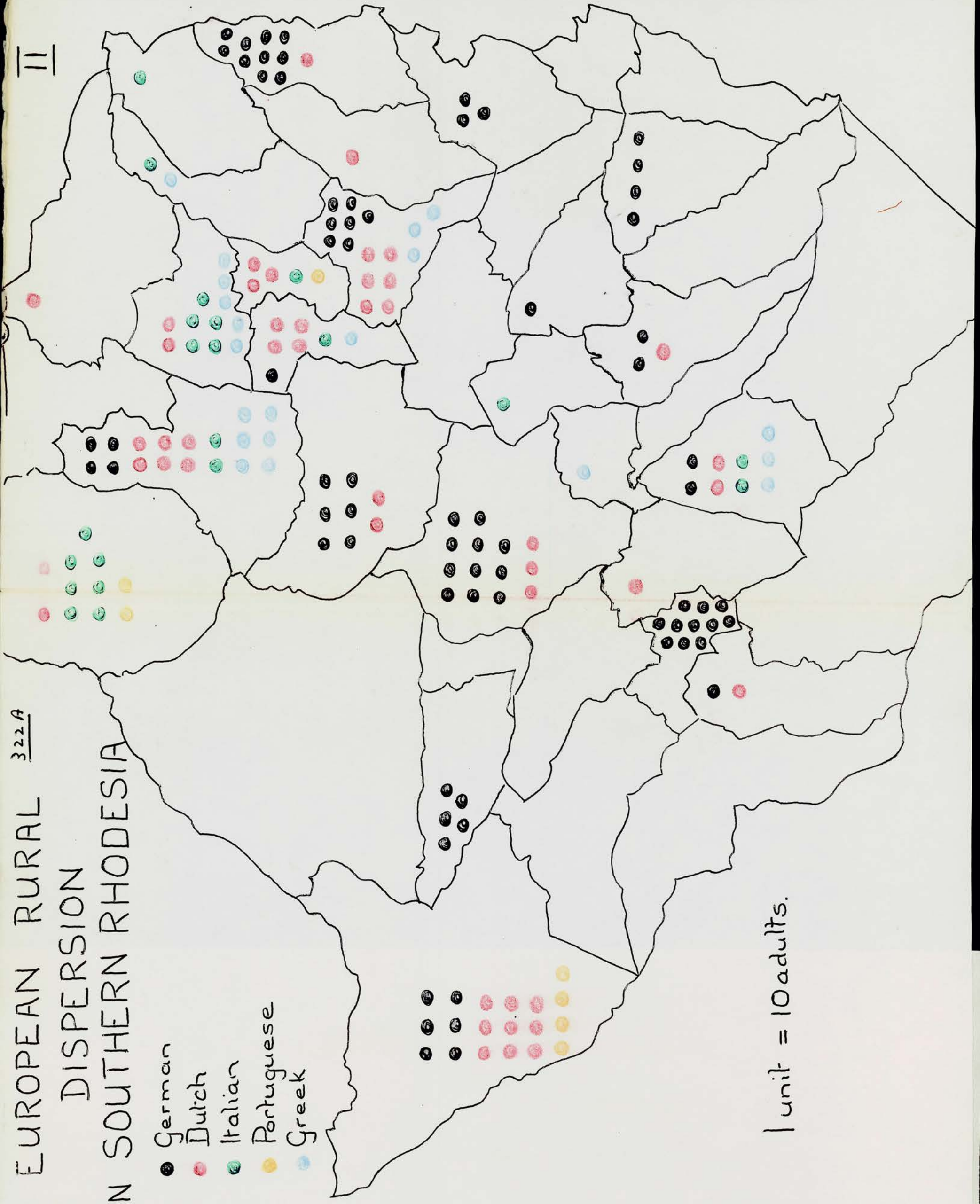
In Salisbury itself, ethnic concentration was pronounced in all cases. For all residential areas in and around the city a significant association was established with country of origin in

EUROPEAN RURAL

DISPERSION

IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

- German
- Dutch
- Italian
- Portuguese
- Greek

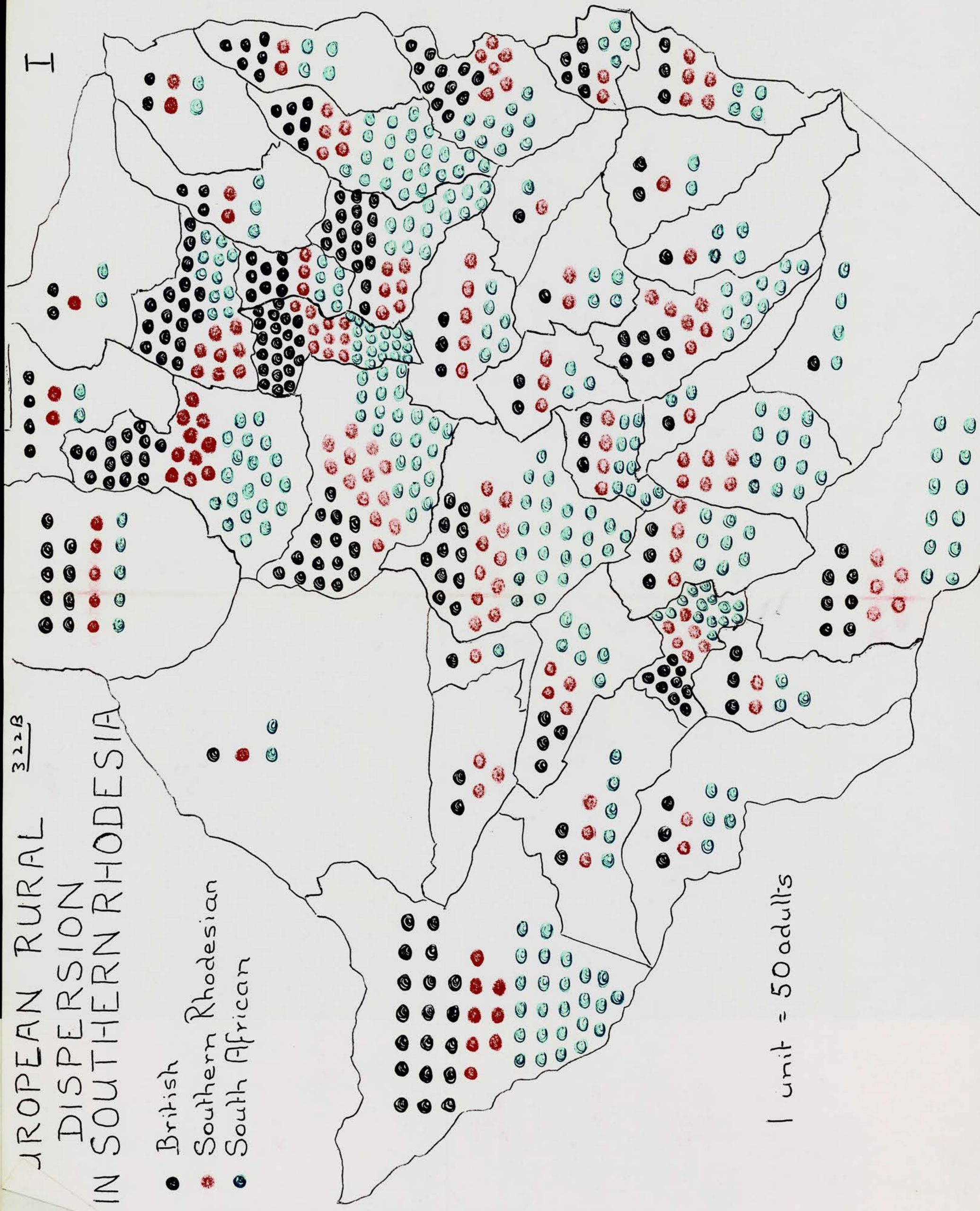


1 unit = 10 adults.

322B
EUROPEAN RURAL
DISPERSION
IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

- British
- Southern Rhodesian
- South African

1 unit = 50 adults



spite of the fact that residents born in Rhodesia were randomly distributed throughout all except two of these areas.* A concentration of Greeks and Portuguese was particularly dense in two adjacent areas situated in the poorer quarter of the city, south of the railway line.

Another measure of dispersion, and one bearing still more directly on absorption, is inter-marriage. From figures obtained covering the period 1956-9, an index of homogamy (H) was established for the Afrikaans, Hollander and Greek communities, using Savorgnan's formula (see Appendix V).

Table 80.

Index of Homogamy, Salisbury district 1956-9

Greek	- .80
Hollander	- .63
Afrikaaner	- .47

This indicates the prevalence of marriage within the same ethnic group and is a reflection of cultural solidarity in each case.

The third kind of dispersion is occupational. We had suspected that country of origin played a more important role in social stratification than the responses we had obtained seemed to indicate. If this is so, and the operation of selective migration would help to perpetuate such a situation by encouraging people to immigrate whose families and friends were already

*
employed in the country, and who therefore themselves usually followed the same occupation, when we find a vicious circle. Discrimination produces low status and low status helps breed discrimination.

As already observed in Chapter III, when occupation was analysed with country of origin, with four categories of the former, and the latter divided into English-speaking and non-English-speaking, a chi-value was obtained significant at the .01 level. This was largely due to a high proportion, confirmed by subsequent study, of foreign immigrants who were engaged in modest entrepreneurial activities.

In the three aspects of dispersion mentioned, spatial, marital and occupational, the same tendency has been found toward group solidarity. At the same time, no similar trends are noticeable among the British and English-speaking South Africans.

d) The average income level of the adult European male was found to be high, 25% earning £1800 p.a. or more and only about 15% less than £1000. In addition, about 26% of married women were employed and earning a supplemental income.

The standard of living was high. Among all income groups approximately 7% of the net income was spent on servants, 5% on recreation and between 2% and 5% on beverages.

* This was Government policy, especially for those brought to the country through the agency of ICEM, most of whom were Greeks.

e) In general, values and attitudes appeared to have less importance for immigrant assimilation than had been expected. For the large majority of new arrivals, the most important and personally significant adjustment had to be made not to a different culture but to a political situation. This meant that only attitudes having a direct reference to the political (racial) complex played an important part in the assimilative process. Other attitudes, such as toward South African goods or the pleasures of the Rhodesian countryside ('bundu') although sensitive to length of residence, were not active components of satisfaction or conditions necessary for social acceptance.

f) The widespread reluctance in Rhodesia to recognise any kind of class structure among the European population preserves white solidarity and facilitates the early assimilative processes for immigrants. Political leaders and others in prestigious positions are expected to be simple and unpretentious. Consciousness of class is minimised by the general high standard of educational attainment, by the accessibility of status symbols such as the car, the similarity of clothing (determined by the climate), the pervasiveness of the myth of a classless white society.

In spite of the egalitarian myth, a large proportion of the population recognised the presence of conflict. In addition to the usual causes of tension in a complex society,

the actual inequalities, the clash between ascribed and achieved status, and the comparatively high rate of aspiration in Rhodesia, was the different racial assumptions of the skilled and semi-skilled on the one hand, and the highly qualified on the other. The artisan was naturally resistant to the expansion of African labour whereas the lawyer or doctor was more concerned with the preservation of peace. On the other hand, the high level of material comfort obtained, the fact that the financially successful immigrant remained to continue his wealth just as the socially ambitious immigrant remained to enjoy his higher status, and the common participation of all in formal and informal activities, these all tended to dissipate the stresses. The carpenter might partner his doctor at tennis or golf and play alongside him on the cricket field.

The actual stratification remains open enough to allow intrastrata mobility, thus encouraging the immigrant at the bottom yet retaining the prospect of reward for the successful. In this way, two crucial social needs are satisfied. White society does not have its solidarity threatened by rifts, and socially ambitious immigrants are not denied the status-rewards of success.

g) An important demographic characteristic of the European population is its cultural homogeneity. Although, as we have seen, the majority of whites come either from South Africa or Great Britain, sizeable minorities exist who have not been

absorbed in the host society. The problems of assimilation for non-English speaking immigrants has been closer to the conventional. Added to their ethnic and cultural differences have been religious affiliations which often indicated and confirmed cultural as well as doctrinal difference.

These ethnic minorities have been the subject of separate investigation. The present study, however, has concentrated on the large majority of English-speaking immigrants for whom the problem is much more the adjustment to a racial situation than to a different culture.

The importance of cultural plurality, and the interesting questions to which it gives rise, were exemplified in the Greek and Dutch Reformed Church groups. In the former case, members of the Greek community were, as an ethnic category, second in their degree of general satisfaction only to the local-born, yet in their identification with Southern Rhodesia they fell below all other ethnic groups except the Americans. In the latter case, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, had the lowest general satisfaction score among all church groups.

In considering the ethnic minority groups, two further considerations were borne in mind. Because of the system of immigration, through the recommendation and assurance of friends and relatives, non-English speaking immigrants arrived as accepted members of primary groups who, in most cases, retained their cultural traits and their national speech. Also, by the

same token, these immigrants, most of whom came from central and southern Europe, were admitted into the country on the formally given understanding that they would occupy certain specific occupational positions. This officially contrived arrangement confirmed the tendency for non-English speaking immigrants to fill certain occupational categories from which it seemed hard to escape.

h) Religious affiliation produced a significant relationship with country of origin, thus demonstrating the ethnic quality of several of the largest church groups, particularly the Dutch Reformed and Greek Orthodox.

A significant relationship was also found between church membership and general satisfaction. Further analysis revealed that the relationship between country of origin and religion was too close to permit the conclusion that a causal connection existed, in either direction, between satisfaction and religion per se. Nevertheless, religious associations were important secondary reference groups. Thus, whereas members of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Hebrew churches had mean satisfaction scores significantly above the mean, the Dutch Reformed Group and those professing no church affiliation had means significantly lower than average.

Although, however, immigrants who did not belong to any church tended to be more discontented than those who were church members, no relationship was established according to belief in

God, or church attendance in general.

The relevance of religion to the assimilative process seemed to lie in its providing readily accessible primary group relationships, rather than in any doctrinal or attitudinal significance. Confirmation of the last point was obtained from the fact that although the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church coincided more closely with the national norm with regard to race relations, this group, containing the majority of Afrikaans-speaking people and having a low mean income, had the lowest satisfaction and identification measures.

In the general social context of Southern Rhodesia, the mosaic of religious beliefs was not a unifying factor since the majority of Africans had been missionary educated and regarded themselves as Christian. Religiosity, as denoting conformity in matters of attendance, in social visibility, was very apparent, approximately 37% of the adult white population attending a church service regularly. The churches have been told repeatedly to stay out of politics and have generally accepted the guidance. The separation of ultimate values from expedient worth, noticed in Chapter II, where it was referred to as the secularisation of values, has resulted in the assignation of organised religion to a special, confined place, the repository of the highest values, but restricted to Sunday ceremony and circumscribed observance.

- 1) For the reasons given in Chapter II, voluntary formal

social associations, usually grouped around a common interest, were popular. It was a society of 'joiners'. Among every ten adult white Europeans, seven belonged to at least one such organisation. The general pattern seemed to be for immigrants to join after the second year following migration, with the largest proportion of members of most groups coming from among those resident in the country for between seven and eleven years. Although the pattern of increasing proportional membership during the first few years of residence supports the view that this kind of membership is a major factor in the assimilative process, the fact that the major increases in membership occurred after the first two full years suggested what case-studies subsequently confirmed, that this breakthrough to membership follows as often as it precedes the critical period. Which happens first seems to depend on the pattern of primary group membership. If other members of the immigrants' most significant primary groups are members, the probability is that he too will join and thus acculturate more quickly. If, on the other hand, he is either without a significant primary group in the new country, or if the members do not belong to a voluntary association of some kind, the likelihood is that the immigrant will delay joining until he already feels generally accepted and acceptable.

The most flourishing formal social groups are focalised around sport, religion, charity and ex-servicemen, in that order of popularity. Women's organisations and dramatic clubs are

also very heavily subscribed.

j) The relationship between job satisfaction and general satisfaction was found to be close. Although, however, a positive relationship was found between general satisfaction and length of residence, no similar relationship was established between job satisfaction and length of residence.

This suggests that the importance of work increases with length of residence. At first the immigrant, although just as likely to be satisfied with his job, is less likely to be satisfied with Rhodesia; as time advances there is a tendency to become satisfied with both. As, however, a larger proportion of the population was satisfied with their work than with Rhodesia in general, it may be argued that dis-satisfaction with the work situation was likely to be a more influential factor determining assimilative success than satisfaction with one's work - especially if the 'satisfieds' are considered separately from the 'extremely satisfieds'.

When asked to state which of three factors was the most important for job satisfaction, 41% of respondents said good personal relations, 26% good working conditions and only 20% thought good prospects of advancement. It would be interesting to know whether this was a genuine reflection of outlook or whether it reflected an emphasis on what was lacking and the corresponding devaluation of what was already enjoyed. The credibility of the latter interpretation is increased by a

consideration of the responses given to the question 'What do you like least about Rhodesia?' If answers to this question are divided into objections involving personal relations, general conditions, and opportunity, ^{broadly} corresponding to the three job factors, the following pattern emerges.

TABLE 81.

Criticisms of S. Rhodesia.

Type of criticism	Number making criticism
Personal relations (eg. social rivalry, racial problems)	370
General conditions (eg. lack of amenities)	102
Absence of opportunities (eg. insecurity), cost of living	215

Although the absence of a precise parallel between the two sets of figures makes any clear inference impossible, it is interesting that social aspects of living was the most frequent type of response, social rivalry alone (excluding race conflict) receiving 178 votes.

k) The level of satisfaction with Rhodesia among its white population varied considerably. One in every four adults would have liked to return to their country of origin given the chance. Only one in two identified with the country in the sense that they felt they belonged and regarded themselves as 'Rhodesian'.

It has been shown that satisfaction and identification do

not necessarily follow in sequence nor are they always associated with the same variables. Income, for example, although related directly to satisfaction, is not related directly to identification. Urban residential area and age, on the other hand, are more clearly related to identification.

1) The presence of anomie, as measured by Srole's scale, was widespread and highest among the Rhodesian-born. This was interpreted as reflecting the change of values made necessary by political and social developments. The existence of anomie, however, must indicate something more (or other) than the absence of norms for if it was only this, a lowering of anomie score would be expected among those resident in the country for some years, who were satisfied and assimilated. But this was not the case. The lowest mean, by length of residence, was found among precisely those who had just arrived, and the highest was the Rhodesian-born. No significant variation from the overall mean was found for any other category by length of residence. When it is also remembered that the correlation between satisfaction and anomie was $-.534$, it seems as if, as Nettler suggests, the scale is more sensitive to despair than to 'normlessness'. The new immigrant arrives full of hope, the born Rhodesian is disillusioned.

II Psychological Variables.

a) The nature of the reasons prompting the individual to migrate was found to be one of the five most predictive and

salient psychological characteristics determining subsequent adjustment and assimilation.

In the majority of cases migration seems to have been motivated by a number of varied considerations. But for some immigrants there was a single reason that had clearly been dominant in the decision to leave the old country. In such cases two motives were distinguished, according to whether the emphasis was placed on anticipation of the new country or discontent (of some kind) with the old. Where the former kind of motivation dominated we spoke of positive motivation, and where the latter, negative.

The presence of a dominant, conscious, positive motive exerted a most powerful influence on eventual migrational success. Achievement of his goal was perceived as a form of personal success with gratification its own reward, while the threat of failure, of being unaccepted or dissatisfied, was a challenge to be overcome, a threat to self-esteem that had to be conquered.

*

Following Graumann, we may distinguish between four types of immigrant, according to migrational motivation.

1) The 'settler', who leaves home because of some dissatisfaction which may be personal, such as marital or familial dispute, or general, a failure to accept either environmental

* R.A.Graumann, *Methods of Studying the Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*, unpublished PhD thesis, London, 1951.

demands and pressures or national policies. In the latter case, however, this was generally interpreted as a rationalisation covering more personal reasons. Selectivity, as Weinberg has pointed out,^{*} may exist, in that voluntary migrants often differ in personality from the average individual of their native community; they may rebel against the strict norms of behaviour, or have political convictions of their own.

In the present study the settler refers, in this technical sense, to the migrant whose dominant motive is negative. That is to say it is associated with a difficulty of adjustment of some kind at home. This may have been due to the attribution of some deficiency in the old country made by a restless, rootless wanderer, or to the desire to escape from some personal difficulty. In each case, the accept is placed on relief at leaving rather than on the opportunities of arriving.

Recognising the difference between inner insecurity and the feeling of uncertainty consequent to strangeness in a new environment, the settler is one who, the present study suggests, finds it difficult to adjust to the new. He belongs to the former category. Among the twenty cases of prospective immigrants who experienced some kind of adjustment difficulty during the first year, fourteen gave as their main reason for leaving Britain some kind of dis-satisfaction with the old country, but

* A.A.Weinberg, Mental Health aspects of voluntary migration, Mental Hygiene, Vol.XXXIX, No.3, 1955.

among the seventeen most rapidly successful cases, only one gave this as the main reason for migrating.

The present study suggests, therefore that in Southern Rhodesia, at least, where, for British immigrants, the change is more situational than cultural, the settler is less likely to adjust satisfactorily. He is the marginal man toward whom open, opportunist Rhodesian society showed little sympathy or help. Sociologically, the dissolution of roles consequent upon migration, and the social isolation, did not facilitate absorption. The final outcome depended on the immigrant's success in his search for new social contacts, the adequacy of the new primary group relationships he was able to form. The presence of so much insecurity in S. Rhodesia did not help those who were already unstable to adjust. When the difficulties were too great, the immigrant became permanently marginal, desiring to re-emigrate elsewhere, belonging nowhere, constantly living on the margin of social life. Personal reports made to the author by local general practitioners suggested that such people formed the bulk of the mentally disturbed European population.

ii) The second type of immigrant, classified according to motivation, called the 'colonist'. This is the person whose

* during the period of the follow-up studies.

/ Cf. D.R. Taft and R. Dobbins. International Migrations. New York 1955, pp. 518-519. Also M. Pfister-Ammende. Heimatverlust und Psychische Erkrankung. Vienna, 1953.

migrational motivation is positive, the man who is changing his country because of the opportunities he believes to exist in the new homeland. The psychological emphasis is placed on the future, to which he is willing to adapt and adjust as necessary. There is strong and determined predisposition to change.

In terms of motivation alone, this is the type of immigrant most likely to succeed quickly.

iii) The third motivational category corresponds to the immigrant whose movement is 'involuntary'. This is the man who has been posted abroad. The initiative may have originated either with the individual or within the organisation employing him, but in either case, to fall into this category the immigrant will have accepted the opportunity without directly planning it. Similarly, the choice of country may or may not be arbitrary.

In cases of this kind it seemed that the motivational factor was only of marginal importance.

iv) Finally, there is the 'cafone' or target worker, who migrates for the specific purpose of making money in a predetermined manner and who expects to move on after this goal has been reached, or as soon as it appears unlikely to be achieved. Immigrants in this category, attracted to Rhodesia by projects such as the building of the Kariba Dam, were interested in

adjustment only at the superficial level. In most cases they arrived to find themselves accepted within an already existing ethnic minority group which satisfied all their immediate social needs.

The important difference between the settler and the cafone is that the latter does not expect to remain in the new country; the cafone differs from the involuntary in the intensity of his personal motivation. He arrives under his own steam and expects to leave at his own pleasure.

b) Immigrant expectation was distinguished from aspiration. Three components of expectation were identified, its accuracy (the degree to which it accorded with conditions in the new environment), its assimilative relevance (the significance of the hope for personal contentment), and its intensity (the strength with which it was believed).

Expectation was then analysed in terms of climate, the Rhodesian cost of living, the standard of living, opportunities for the indulgence of leisure, the resident European population, the Africans, and race relations. Of these seven features of Rhodesian life, the second and third were found to be the most relevant.

The cost of living, which most immigrants found high, had an importance that was in direct proportion to two factors: the inaccuracy of the original expectation and the level of

the Rhodesian income. When the expenses had been correctly estimated, generally through information supplied by a friend or relative, this played an influential part in facilitating early adjustment. When expectations had been inaccurate, however, or ill-defined, the resultant disillusionment was even more influential, in this case leading to difficulties and generalised criticism.

The importance of status was nowhere more apparent than in determining the outcome of the initial phases of assimilation. The most common problem and source of disillusionment was when a wide discrepancy was experienced between real status position and expected status position. This was strongly accentuated in the lower income groups in which case an additional factor was introduced. In such cases it became extremely important for the individual to retain a status position commensurate with others in a similar occupational position. Also many new arrivals, especially young single men, found that the quickest path to social acceptance was through gaining a high reputation as a host. This required not only a lavish supply of drinks but also adequate supply of servants. As shown in table 60 (page 275) the average expenditure on these two items alone of those earning between £126 and £145 per month amounted to 10% of total income. In addition, it was important, for reasons of status, to live in an expensive neighbourhood and in a comfortable house, with as large a car as income (and the credit system) allowed, and

with one's children attending expensive fee-paying schools. In this connection it was frequently observed that the greater the discrepancy between premigrational status and post-migrational status, the greater was preoccupation and indulgence with the latter. This in turn led to social and personal conflicts as, for example, when (as an example of the former) a sudden increase in status created role-playing deficiencies and conflicts, and (an example of the latter) when an immigrant, suddenly thrust up the social ladder, became ashamed of his own family.

Expectations with regard to standard of living varied widely. Among the unmarried and younger married prospective immigrants, a definite improvement was anticipated, in particular the acquisition of certain material possessions such as cars and the enjoyment of certain luxuries such as domestic servants. For immigrants who had known neither, the expectation (often strengthened by hearsay) was strong and intense. In many cases this was the strongest single conscious factor for migrating to Rhodesia, to achieve material success (in an acquisitive society). Therefore, in the few cases where this had not been fulfilled after about one year, discontent and disappointment grew together. When, however, material expectation was disappointed because of its original inaccuracy, discontent was less apparent.

Two explanations have been offered for this finding. First, the fact that the Rhodesian standard was so much higher

than for comparative occupational grades in Britain or, to a lesser extent in South Africa, and second, because of the Rhodesian norm.

Thus, if pre-migrational expectation had accurately reflected a standard that in fact most Europeans in Rhodesia of a certain occupational or income category enjoyed, but which the immigrant was for some reason unable to attain, then discontent was likely to result. But if the expectation had exceeded the Rhodesian norm which the immigrant had nevertheless attained, then it seemed little or no discontent was aroused. In other words, post-migrational achievement to the local standard of living appropriate to a given occupational and/or income grade was more important than pre-migrational accuracy.

Among older immigrants, fewer in number and usually migrating with their family, expectation was less important if only because local opportunities and standards were usually more carefully considered and therefore more accurate.

(c) Aspirations were considered in terms of their appropriateness (the degree to which the new environment was likely to render their consummation), their significance (their importance as needs of the total personality,) and their intensity.

It was found that, in general, this factor was a product of these three components. An inappropriate ambition, strongly

held, was more likely to retard migrational success than an appropriate aspiration weakly held. Ambition that was unlikely to be achieved (inappropriate) was in some cases strongly desired before departure, but became decreasingly so after arrival. This suggested that intensity was disproportionate to significance.

Although the distinction between expectation and aspiration seems valid and useful, the former was a more discriminating concept as far as assimilation is concerned. The explanation for this may be that whereas the former is usually conscious and easily articulated, the latter may often be unconscious or implicit.

(d) For the first steps in the process of assimilation, accommodation and adjustment to the new folkways and norms, a strong existing intimate personal relationship, such as occurred most typically among a happy family unit, was one of the five most diagnostic psychological factors. Conversely, a recent divorce or unhappy love affair led to greater difficulty in early adjustment.

Among single newcomers, other forms of primary group relationships acted analogously. Thus an immigrant who was a freemason or ardent churchgoer, or who was an active and proficient sportsman, set forth with a clear advantage. For such people the opportunity to form quick and easy inter-

personal relationships, and therefore to bridge the gap between the old life and the new through the means of a common interest, greatly facilitated the early stages of adjustment.

(e) The policy of the Southern Rhodesian Government to grant residence permits only to those who either had a job guaranteed or whose qualifications made it most probable that one would be readily found, decreased the risk of unhappy early experiences. All male immigrants were likely to find almost immediate employment. At certain times, of course, crises in specific industries hit those employed within them, some of whom may have only just reached the country. This happened in the case of the building industry in 1957, when it suffered a slump from which it has never so far recovered. But in general, immigrants and their families were assured of a job. An area of greater initial difficulty was housing, and this was the source of bitter complaint, especially among those in the lower income groups. Government housing for immigrants was notoriously bad and many newcomers, especially the non-English speaking minorities, were forced to live in squalid, overcrowded conditions with little immediate prospect of improvement. Their underprivileged status as 'foreigners', and the underlying value of every man for himself, served only to intensify the group solidarity of these people who preferred to be discriminated against as a group than discriminated against as individuals. It also made the chances of their assimilation and absorption slender indeed.

Whilst these unfortunate cases must certainly not be overlooked in any general assessment, it remained true to say that, for the large majority, the economic shocks so often consequent upon migration were minimal.

The impact of first experience (primacy) was more generally felt in the area of personal, primary relations. The readiness or reluctance of strangers to help, the congeniality or repugnance of the initial work situation, and - most impressionable of all - the remark about Africans that was retained as a touchstone to be confirmed or exploded at the slightest confirmatory or conflicting evidence.

For these reasons, as we have already discussed, early experiences (apart from the formation of primary group relationships) did not usually influence the course of the assimilative process to any marked extent. The one exception, apart from that just mentioned in parenthesis, lay in the field of race relations. The newly arrived resident became immediately conscious of the ubiquity and urgency of the race problem, and he was correspondingly impressionable. Although, then, first experiences were in this regard important, their importance should not be exaggerated. The person who expected to find Africans inferior would find ample (if superficial) evidence to support the view, as, by the same token, the liberally-minded immigrant who regarded them as different but equal, or who declined to evaluate, would experience little difficulty in having the

contrary views sustained. The major difference would be that in the former case he would be, ipso facto, allying himself with majority opinion and therefore subscribing to the local norm, whereas the latter immigrant would remain isolated from the majority and unassimilated to its norm.

(f) The fifth predisposing psychological factor we were able to identify concerned the immigrant's beliefs and attitudes towards negroes and about relations between the whites and blacks generally. In outline, three categories were distinguished: the uncommitted, the ethnocentric and the liberal.

The first characterised the open-minded migrant who was willing to 'go along' with the prevalent outlook, although this approach was often couched in more persuasive terms such as 'judging by experience'. For these people, the majority, acceptance of the new norms in racial affairs was unlikely to create any problem.

The second category, the ethnocentric, was at an early advantage but since this system of attitudes often denoted a general mental rigidity, there was observed among this group, a greater difficulty to adjust as time went by. The final stages in the assimilative process, those of identifying with the country and its fortunes, and of perceiving and accepting the inevitability of social and political change, were more

difficult for this group than for any other. In such an environment as Southern Rhodesia, rigidity was a great psychological disadvantage.

Analysis of F-scale scores with assimilative level attained showed no significant results and this was taken to suggest that, although the mean score was high (4.43), in itself it had no direct connection with assimilation. Considering this finding in the light of the preceding paragraph, a distinction has to be made between authoritarianism and rigidity as influential factors in assimilation. It would have been interesting to assess case-studies along the tolerance of ambiguity continuum but unfortunately this was not done.

The third group comprised the racial liberals, those who, out of principle or conviction or both, subscribed to the view that Africans were at least the equal of Europeans in all important respects and that they should be treated as such. When this attitude, or cluster of attitudes, was predominantly cognitive rather than emotive, migrational success was less likely to be impeded, especially if the individual belonged to one of the higher occupational echelons where such notions were recognised and (at least partially) accepted. * When, on the other hand, extreme liberal attitudes had a stronger emotive than cognitive component, often with strong ego-involvement and

*'Such people were less directly threatened and could therefore afford to be socially atypical. Their high status in other respects also gave them a certain immunity'.

concomitant anti-European sentiment, then the assimilative level seemed seldom to reach beyond the satisfaction phase. At the same time it has to be remembered, as our case-studies indicated, that although the assimilative level was impeded when compared to certain other migrants, it had been enhanced for the individuals themselves. Without this means of identifying with the under-privileged, or of fighting emotionally for a cause, they might have been considerably less contented as well as being - it could be argued - considerably less valuable for the country in the long term.

(g) A number of psychological variables of personality were examined in order to try to ascertain whether any might be directly associated with assimilative potential. Those producing only negative results have been discussed in previous chapters. The following variables produced significant results:

i) the ability to experience pleasure in new activities, the need for change.* As well as an overall high mean, a difference was noted between the 'discontented' and the 'assimilated', that satisfied the .05 level. No difference was observed for this variable between the 'assimilated' and the 'satisfied'.

ii) Endurance. A relationship, reaching the .01 level, was established between endurance score and assimilative level.

The discontented scored more highly ($\bar{x} = 73$) than the

* All these variables refer to needs discriminated by the EPPS.

assimilated ($\bar{x} = 53$). It was argued that the insecurity of the Rhodesian environment - a psychological and social reality - most influenced immigrants whose need was to finish tasks and dislike interruption. In this way a trait thought likely to be a positive advantage seemed to be a disadvantage on account of the unusual circumstances and the transitional state of Rhodesian society and national politics.

Three more personal needs were found to be inversely associated with assimilative level. These were Autonomy (avoidance of conformity), Dominance and Abasement. In each of these cases a significantly higher mean was obtained among the Discontented than among the Satisfied.

No association was found between other psychological factors such as intelligence, social intelligence and authoritarianism, although in individual cases each of these could be relevant.

These findings seem to us to indicate that, with the possible exceptions of the above-mentioned significant variables, the psychological study of assimilation is more profitably pursued in terms of the emotional and cognitive components of migrational behaviour rather than in detailed analyses of individual differences.

(h) The satisfaction level toward Rhodesia, as measured by the method of summated ratings, provided a most useful instrument with which to measure the sensitivity of this factor to other influences and its position along a putative assimilation continuum.

Since no immigrant identifies with a new country until he is satisfied with it, satisfaction is a necessary precursor to complete assimilation. With positive satisfaction toward Rhodesia as an anchoring point it was necessary to observe the main predisposing factors leading toward it and the main social and psychological hurdles that had still to be cleared before complete assimilation could be said to have occurred.

As was indicated in Chapter III, the existence of a statistically valid relationship between satisfaction and other variables can be very misleading unless a causal connection can be substantiated by further study. Bearing in mind all the qualifications mentioned in that chapter, it seemed that, among demographic data, general satisfaction with the new country was most strongly influenced by income. In addition, it was facilitated by membership of a closely-knit social unit such as an ethnic group or a religious organisation. It was not affected by age (except among the under-twenty group) nor by residential area. The gulf distinguishing satisfaction from complete assimilation is crystalised around the concept of identification.

(i) When a man arrives in a new country, however slight

may be the cultural shock and degree of acculturation, he has a different social position and his associates react differently, if only because the newcomer is strange. Thus when a man feels he is not only accepted but treated as if he belonged; when, in short, others identify him as one of themselves, he begins to consider himself as one of them. This is the beginning of the process of identification, and it need not be associated with any feeling of nationality but only with the social environment. This helps to explain why it was that members of ethnic minorities, although feeling satisfied more quickly, tended not to identify at all. They had already identified, but with a different reference group. This also helps to explain why, although clearly related, satisfaction and identification did not follow the same pattern.

Identification was slightly related to residential area, where (in addition to the explanation offered in chapter III) in certain cases, informal friendship groups were formed. Thus the association was found to be closest where horizontal mobility was lowest, in Avondale and Highlands. Identification was also more marked among members of voluntary social organisations. Among the 609 respondents who belonged to no organised social group, only 108 said they felt Rhodesian, compared to 611 who felt Rhodesian among the 1222 who belonged to at least one formal social group. This represented a significant difference.

Generalising, then, it may be said that whereas psychological

factors tended to be more salient for satisfaction, sociological factors became increasingly important for the subsequent stages of assimilation, especially identification.

(j) The possibility that certain stages leading up to full assimilation followed an orderly and regular sequence was examined, but had to be rejected.

In the absence of any severe problems of acculturation experienced by the majority, the initial problem for them was the perceived fulfilment of the initial motivation. For most immigrants this meant a higher income and improved standard of living, and a higher status. The main adjustment seemed to be an acceptance of Rhodesian norms in racial affairs. Since most immigrants from Britain and South Africa were able to satisfy their basic migrational needs without paying particular attention to other more subtle differences that existed between the new country and the old, the two crucial factors seemed to be 1) how far were the initial expectations (generally material) being met, and 2) what was the nature and potency of the social relations available to the immigrant that would help a rapid adjustment to the dominant group values?

Subsequent progress, whether the English-speaking immigrant would come to identify with Rhodesia and fully accept the local norms and mores, as well as having this acceptance reciprocated, depended primarily on two further sets of factors: 1) what was the nature and influence of his primary group relationships, and

2) what was the dominant motive for remaining in Rhodesia?

For the minority, however, the problem was more complex. In their case, generalisation from the data seems more perilous. The psychological problem was not usually severe since there was guaranteed employment and an established group of common ethnic and cultural origin waiting to cushion their early adjustment. Sociologically, however, the problem was more serious since it seemed it was only the over-riding need for white solidarity in the face of growing African demands that prevented more extreme discrimination between the large English speaking in-group and the fragmented non-English speaking out-group, unwilling to be absorbed and unable to gain full social equality.

But, to return to the psychological point of view, foreign immigrants had an advantage supplementing the security of an integrated receiving group, in almost all cases they had received, before migrating, an accurate personal account of what to expect in the new country. It was not surprising, therefore, to find their needs pitched at a lower level and their general level of satisfaction comparatively higher.

III. Sociological Variables.

The cultural situation into which new immigrants arrive has been outlined in Chapter II.

The orientation toward immigration in Southern Rhodesia has

been so strong that Leys has referred to its position 'at the heart of the philosophy of the European in Central Africa'.^{*}

Sir Roy Welensky, the mouthpiece of official thinking, in an article of 1952,^φ wrote that 'the individual enterprise of the immigrant is the most valuable asset he can bring... this vast immigration ... will result in the immense economic development of natural resources'.

The social climate was one of general approval, the white immigrant was regarded as making a positive contribution to Rhodesia, to white supremacy, to civilisation itself. From political policy to individual enterprise⁺ it had been encouraged and facilitated at every level. At the same time, seeds of doubt were occasionally expressed. In 1951, one right-wing politician, stating the common view among his constituents, said 'Let us be frank. We do know that a certain number of Afrikaners have come to this country who are imbued with the idea of nationalism and republicanism which prevail in South Africa today. But surely it is up to all of us to make an honest endeavour to win them from such ideas ... If we do this we shall have uniformity among the white races in Rhodesia.'[‡]

* *ibid.* p.282

φ Sir R. Welensky, The Development of Central Africa Through Federation. Optima, Vol. 11, No. 4, Dec. 1952, p. 6.

+ Until 1960, every new group of immigrants was met on arrival by a representative of the 1820 Settlers Association.

‡ Mr. St. Quintin, S.R. Deb. 18 Apr. 1951. C.256 (Quoted by Leys).

Immigration was therefore encouraged because it seemed profitable. When the labouring section was the first to suffer, by an inundation of builders, they directed their blame not on to each other, or the Government, but onto the Africans.

a) Social institutions, apart from a voluntary organisation known as the 1820 Settlers' Association and the moribund Rhodesian Club, were not directed at the newcomer. The language, habits and customs that generally require the most immediate adjustment when entering a new culture were, for the large majority, similar to the culture they had left behind.

Neighbourhood relationships in Salisbury were poorly developed except in the poorer areas, particularly wherever a congregation of foreigners was to be found. A nodding acquaintance without the threat of friendship was the usual accepted pattern. Where primary groups were identified these seemed almost invariably due to either a common non-British background or to mothers having children of similar age. But British reserve, the large number of extra familiarly employed wives and the high rate of horizontal mobility seemed the main explanations.

The weakness of residential ties led to a large number of voluntary group associations based around a common interest or activity. The most popular, as already observed, was sport,

followed closely by church groups. A significant difference was established between group members and non-group members in terms of general satisfaction.

All case-studies indicated their pattern of friendships, according to whether they had in common with their friends: residential area, country of origin, length of residence, occupation or a joint formal group membership. Although the result was not statistically significant when related to assimilative level, it did provide insight into these inter-relationships. The majority of single men and women (68%) mentioned a common country of origin. Other factors did not seem to be prevalently relevant. Among married families, however, a difference was observed between the Greeks and Hollanders, whose pattern corresponded to the unmarried's, and the English-speaking, among whom country of origin seemed less relevant but occupation and length of residence more so. With the resources available, it was unfortunately impossible to determine how many of these primary friendship groups were also reference groups for one party of the other. Our study of case-studies, however, suggested that a marked tendency existed for people to count among their friends a large majority of those who shared their political attitudes.

*

It has elsewhere been suggested that the factors enhancing the absorption of indigenous culture traits by the immigrant group are:

* Graumann, *ibid* p.15.

- 1) the size of the immigrant group relative to the indigenous society.
- ii) the effectiveness of the indigenous culture in its environment.
- iii) indigenous attitudes towards cultural homogeneity, as for example, an insistence on conformity and the use of instruments of enforcements.

In Rhodesia, the first is so large and the second so unstable that only the third is relevant.

This, however, is severely impeded by the overwhelming pressures for European solidarity.

Conversely, however, the extent to which the minority cultures infiltrate into the receiving community may be determined by the size of the minority group, its dispersion and its occupational structure.

In Rhodesia, the relatively small size of the ethnic groups, politically fragmented and socially isolated, their occupational limitations consequent upon their lower mean educational attainment, their intense solidarity and internal organisation, all militated against absorption. The only ethnic minority that had numerical power, and strategically positioned political influence, was the Afrikaaner community, but they

happened also to be the most widely dispersed, since the majority lived in rural areas and small towns. The fact of their original migration from the Republic of South Africa, separated from Rhodesia by no boundary wider than the Limpopo River, commonly implied a strong drive toward at least provisional acceptance in Rhodesia. It was also the case that this community included a disproportionate number of poorly qualified, semi-skilled workers forced out of their own country by unemployment, many of them content to live at a lower standard than other whites would have passively tolerated.

There is a further aspect of Rhodesia society that requires summarising. It was found that an unusually large proportion of the adult population scored highly on the anomie-scale.

The rejection of past norms and future goals that this seems to imply carries with it the concomitant of cultural apathy and moral expediency. When to this breakdown was added the destruction of the notion of partnership, however unrealistic this must have seemed to many participants and observers alike, Rhodesia must contain many residents who have been living in a social vacuum. Thomas Eliot once commented that anything disturbing the processes of reciprocal reinforcement and mutual corroboration of norms, is a factor in anomie.^{*} If this unrootedness, this

* R.D.Eliot, Reactions to Predictive Assumptions. A-merican Soc.Rev.17 Vol.II.No.4.pp 508

'resignation from responsibility' (noticed in several of the case-studies) increased, it seemed likely that the rise of conformity might draw the white out-groups nearer the inner circle. At the same time, the need for integration may heighten categorical group membership, leaving the minorities more firmly integrated than before.

For the newly arrived Greek or Portuguese there were only two ways he could become assimilated, either directly by joining indigent secondary groups, against which there existed strong discriminating pressure, or indirectly, as his own ethnic group became absorbed, which, with the possible exception of the Afrikaners, has not been occurring. He therefore remained as he was, usually invisible, nationalistic and socially circumscribed.

An important sociological aspect of assimilation concerns the relation of reference groups to the institutional structure.

A study was carried out of the three social groups whose mean satisfaction score was high, a church group, a sports club and a drama group. This investigation, which involved a sociometric analysis of the organisation with especial reference to group norms, notions of dominance and belongingness, and patterns of influence, and a study of the group as a whole - its unique and accessory functions, its social activity and hierarchical structure, formed the basis of a separate future study, it is relevant to mention some of the findings.

* These organisations were (i) a Presbyterian Church group in Salisbury, (ii) a tennis & cricket club, and (iii) Salisbury Rep. Company

It was found that a congruence between the group's norms and the national norm (as determined by the general questionnaire and case-studies) was closest where mean satisfaction score was highest. This led to the further examination of a control group, a scientific club, whose mean satisfaction score was found to be low but not significantly so. Results confirmed the close relationship established in the other cases between satisfaction and attitude conformity on racial issues. The question then arose as to whether individual members tended to conform to these attitude norms before or after joining; or, expressed in sociological terms, whether these associations were or were not reference groups as far as these norms were concerned. Only in the case of the sports club was a significant relationship found between length of membership and racial attitude score. Table 82 gives the results.

TABLE 82.

Relationship between Race Attitude score and length of membership of Sports Club.

Length of membership	Mean Score on race attitude scale.
Less than one year	3.47
One/Two years	3.78
Three/four years	3.86
Five years or more	3.98

With length of residence in Rhodesia held constant, the total numbers in each group became too small to discriminate

statistically between them. Within these limits, however, the pattern remained the same although slightly less clear. There seemed evidence, therefore, supporting the view that for most British immigrants at least, ^{*}voluntary formal social groups were in some cases also reference groups in matters important for general satisfaction and therefore assimilation. Further study suggested, however, that a causal relationship could only be established (rather than suggested) in the case of sports clubs. Since the love of outdoors was a feature of Rhodesian life, this finding underlined the interconnection of values and social groupings. If an immigrant enjoyed outdoor pursuits he was more likely to enjoy Rhodesia, and he was more likely to join an athletic or country club of some kind; and if he joined he would accept the prevailing group norms which in that case corresponded more closely to the prevailing norms of the white majority. The operation of a group norm upon the individual's impressionable state of mind in the presence of a suitable need, produced a modification of the attitude.

With regard to the relationship between reference groups and the actual membership group roles which the individual performs, it was probable that one of the most important sources of attitude-forming primary groups occurred in the work situation. In support of this view it will be remembered that friendship patterns commonly originated in places of employment.

* This club, and other like it, permitted only British nationals to membership.

Unfortunately it was not possible to examine this possibility in detail owing to shortage of time and the fact that, in Southern Rhodesia, most whites were employed in situations involving comparatively few people placed in face-to-face relationships. Europeans in the lower occupational levels, whether rural or urban, were generally employed as overseers or foremen, while those at the higher levels worked in managerial or professional capacities, either in small offices or alone. A detailed study of the work situation therefore would have required extensive research over small areas which we did not have the resources to undertake.

One of the strongest institutional norms in Rhodesian culture was thought to be the search for pecuniary gain; at the same time limits are set surrounding the area of prescribed conduct for its achievement. During the period following the immigrant's preliminary adjustment, when he has successfully overcome the stresses of making new acquaintances and is overcoming new occupational problems - a period which the questionnaire data suggested lasted between one and two years, the migrant often sought to achieve something in excess of what was immediately possible. Psychologically he was responding to his first successes, sociologically he had become more acculturated to prevalent norms, one of them being the drive for material success, and another the need for status. In this period errors can easily occur, especially if one is socially

isolated, more dependent on inner resources and seeking perhaps to satisfy the growing demands of one's wife to provide her with some of the comfort and luxury others seem to enjoy. This period coincided with the weakening of old norms and led easily to deviant behaviour, either as an expression of rejection of the social system which was making these demands, or as the only perceived means of meeting them. Alternatively the isolate sometimes met other isolates in order to overcome his loneliness or support him in his rejection.

The common breakdown then occurring was reflected in the high rate of incidence of alcoholism (retreat), and of crime (rejection). An open society, with scope for opportunity and a cultural emphasis on material success, on individuality and status-competition, may be expected to produce high rates of non-conformity and (judged by its own standards) failure.

III Reciprocal Relationship Between Psychological and Sociological Variables.

A study that has attempted to cover a broad area of investigation in a society where little had been previously examined must leave many questions unresolved and others unhappily suspended.

All the present work can hope to do in helping to resolve the question whether it is possible to usefully integrate the two disciplines of social psychology and sociology more closely than has hitherto been attempted, is to offer pointers along

the way.

Within the psychological sphere it has been demonstrated that certain variables seem better suited than others to the sociological conditions in which they have to operate. At the same time, the receiving socio-cultural structure is equally important in determining the course of the assimilative process. The immigrant was at once a more potential and direct influencing factor on the development of the new society and at the same time the pressures exerted by that society upon him were less severe. This was partly because the socio-cultural structure in Rhodesia was geared to immigration and partly because it was in any case similar to its analogues in Britain and South Africa.

Thus, the comparative speed with which immigrants passed through the stages of the assimilative process had its primary explanation in social terms. These were:

- i) The high degree of similarity of the receiving culture;
- ii) the expansion of the economic system, into which most migrants, skilful and well qualified, easily fitted;
- iii) the fact that the receiving white society was basically unified, in spite of cultural heterogeneity, in the face of the threatening African majority;

iv) the social and political power wielded by the immigrant population. This dominance of comparative new arrivals in the

* While the rate of net immigration continued to exceed the rate of natural increase the proportion of the white population born in the country inevitably declined. In 1951 the proportion of Rhodesian-born Europeans was 32.7%, in 1956 it was 14.49%.

community meant that they did not form a self-conscious or under-privileged minority. There was virtually no discrimination against them;

v) the values of the receiving society were still in an early, formative stage of development, following the large influx of immigrants in the late 1940's and the rise of urbanism. No strong national argots had yet been formed, nor had any clear sense of national identity been forged.

The significance of new members into this system was clearly appreciated and comprehensively incorporated in the permissiveness with which new members were treated. It was this sociological capacity to absorb English-speaking migrants and to tolerate those ethnic minorities which absorbed the non-English speakers, that allowed psychological factors perhaps greater scope and influence than usual in a new land. The main cultural hindrance to assimilation for the majority seemed to be the comparative absence of any cultural symbols.* These have an important function in the acceptability and vitality of living. Their absence is often more remarked on than their presence. This is what Wentholt has called the factor of cultural aesthetic enjoyment and the need for cultural environmental belongingness 'the tendency to give private meanings to selected symbols' described as cultural anchoring

* Society was profoundly influenced by the flexibility and weakness induced by continued growth; intellectual life may be characterised as having been in a state of perpetual adolescence.'

M.L.Hansen, The immigrant in American History. Harvard U.P. 1948

points. For the aesthetically-minded migrant this belongingness and its corollative frame of reference may be severed.

The main process of socialisation not generally accomplished by English-speaking immigrants during the first two years of residence was the re-structuring of attitudes towards the African population. Nevertheless, given a predisposition to change and economic satisfaction, a re-formation took place, reinforced in proportion to the strength of primary and secondary group memberships. Within a reference group of strong salience, such as that provided by a (national) church, or a friendship group, this re-structuring of attitudes and superficial adjustment of general behaviour patterns was further enhanced by a) attention being directed to the inadequacy of the old attitude, and b) social reinforcement from other residents. This is an example of the way in which the mechanisms of social control regulated behaviour by connecting it to the main values and norms of society.

It should be theoretically possible, we would argue, to determine the inter-relationship of variables, both psychological and sociological, directly concerned with assimilation and absorption, and to analyse each in turn, clarifying the relative significance of all the examined independent variables. In this way, for a given society and for a given individual,

indices might be established setting forth the comparative saliences of all factors on both sides of the migrancy equation, the social side and the individual side. What we have tried to demonstrate, within the limits we have set ourselves, is that sociological factors are given greater depth and their relevance may be more accurately portrayed when the psychological concomitants are, as far as possible, taken into account. Similarly, psychological factors can be placed in better perspective if the relevant sociological variables are also considered, preferably for each individual case. This is a hard, and a long task, and the present study may have illustrated some of its limitations, but it does not seem impossible.

APPENDIX IThe sampling of the general questionnaire.

Distribution of the questionnaire was of three kinds.

In Bulawayo, Enkeldoorn, Fort Victoria, Gatooma, Melsetter, and certain country districts, distribution was by post. Two copies and a stamped addressed envelope were sent to every tenth name in the street directory or registry of postal boxes, whichever was relevant. Although this was not likely to be entirely satisfactory, personal collection would have been prohibitively expensive.

In Umtali, Gwelo and Mazoe, distribution was by personal delivery with one return visit for collection. Thereafter, if incompleting, a request was made for the completed form to be sent by post.

In the Greater Salisbury area, where the major work was being undertaken, distribution was again by personal delivery to every tenth household. In addition, up to three personal calls were made for collection, and only if these all failed was there a request to post the return.

The distribution and collection of these forms in the Greater Salisbury area was a task of some magnitude. The following is an extract from the 'Instructions for Enumerators'.
General. The initial delivery and subsequent collection will be carried out by three teams of four people. Each team will have its own leader responsible for the working area and for making any on-the-spot decisions that may be necessary.

The general plan of delivery will be to visit every tenth

home (i.e. house or flat). The purpose of the visit should be explained as briefly as possible, and the appropriate number of forms delivered, according to the number of European residents of the age of eighteen or over.

The general plan of collection will be the same, although assistants will have the additional task of answering any questions that respondents may ask.

Detail. Each team leader has been assigned one of three areas into which we have divided the total zone to be covered, and in order to avoid any possible overlap or omission between teams, work will begin at the boundaries between them and move 'outwards'. As it is hoped the team leader will remain the same, it will not matter if the composition of the remainder of the team varies.

It is proposed to work in the evenings between 6 and 9 o'clock, as this seems the best time to find people at home, and during the weekends at anytime that can be arranged ...

Although normally every tenth house will be visited, in cases when, for any reason, a call is blank (e.g. an empty house, or a refusal) the next home should be approached and thereafter the ninth house. When the resident seems doubtful whether or not to co-operate, enumerators are asked to do what they can to exert charm and gentle persuasion, stressing the social importance of the work, its anonymity, etc.

In the case of hotels, lodging houses, halls of residence, hostels, hospitals, and prisons, these will not be covered by the teams but by the team leader during the day or by personal contact (e.g. a University student will himself distribute and collect the appropriate number of forms at the University residences). The only people it is not hoped to include are

those in hospital and those of unsound mind ...

In order to complete the operation in the shortest time, it is hoped that collection will begin as soon as deliveries have been concluded."

Sampling Results.

A random sample as high as 10% has been decided because we expected considerable wastage and because also the number of variables it was hoped to cover demanded a comparatively high proportion of the total population. It will be noted that even in the Salisbury area, the figure of 10% referred only to the number of houses who accepted questionnaires, not to the number of questionnaires that were returned.

In general the response was of the magnitude expected. Details of the results obtained from the various areas are shown in Table .

TABLE 62
General Questionnaire (Fl) - Returns.

Area.	Method of Distribution	Questionnaires delivered	Questionnaires returned	Questionnaires returned as %age of those del'd	Estimated sample %age.
Salisbury (municipality and suburbs)	A	3317	1624	42.55	3.89
Untali (municipality and suburbs)	B	500	88(71)	17.60(15.8)	1.99(1.79)
Gwelo	B	400	113	28.25	3.18
Mazoe	B	50	18	36.00	≠
Bulawayo (municipality and suburbs)	C	2646	146(120)	5.52(4.5)	0.55
Gatooma	C	48	7	14.58	7.29
Country/districts	C	300	59(39)	19.67(13.0)	0.16(0.11)
TOTALS		7761	2055(2000)	26.48(24.77)	1.76(1.71)

† A= Personal distribution and repeated personal collection.

B= Personal distribution and one personal collection.

C= Postal distribution and return.

δ Sample expressed as %age of 1956 census. As the census refers to adults of 20 years and over, the actual percentage will be fractionally less.

≠ No comparable basis is provided by census return.

∅ Bracketed figures refer to those received in time for detailed analysis.

Although completed questionnaires continued to trickle in for months afterwards, the official recording of replies concluded four weeks after the despatch of the last form. At this time replies from the rural areas, the last to be reached, totalled 39 and the grand total was 2004. In order to facilitate statistical operations, this figure was later rounded to 2000.

The proportion of returns was closely connected to the method of distribution and collection. This is clearly shown in Table. 63. When the forms were personally presented and calls for collection were made on a number of occasions, 42% were eventually returned completed. When the personal delivery was followed by only one collecting visit with a request thereafter, if unfinished, to have the completed questionnaire mailed to us, there was a 23% response. But when there was no contact with respondents at all, the entire operation being conducted through the post, only 7% of the forms were returned. Although there were a number of intervening variables, among them the different types of areas involved, there can be no doubt that the personal delivery followed by repeated personal collection was easily the most efficient method.

TABLE 63

Method.	Delivered.	Returned.	Percent. success.
A	3817	1624	42.55
B	950	219	23.05
C	2994	212	7.08

The important question concerns the validity of the sample. Was it a valid and reliable guide to the situation in the European population throughout the country? Were we entitled to assume that our interpretations of the results would hold for

the European population in Salisbury particularly, and throughout the territory in general?

In answering this question, representativeness is more important than size. The analysis of results which follows, distinguishes between the Salisbury sample, designated the S sample, and the general(G) sample, which includes all recorded responses. This distinction is important. In many cases, especially where responses and inter-relations may appear significant, a comparison between both these samples will be made. Where the results coincide, this will support the view that the conclusions obtained from evidence provided by the greater Salisbury area, apply also to Southern Rhodesia as a whole. Where they conflict, which is seldom, no conclusions will be justified, and none will be made, concerning the situation in the country generally.

The non-Salisbury portion of our sample constituted 0.50% of the total adult white population, but since it was not stratified in advance, and is strongly biased in favour of the smaller towns, it cannot be regarded as reliable. Nevertheless, the representativeness of the respondents in most other respects seemed to guarantee a degree of validity that justifies these few references to it which have been made.

As for the Salisbury (S) sample, a glance at Appendix III will demonstrate the degree of correspondence between the sample and the official census figures for a number of important characteristics. When studying these tables it should be remembered however, that the European population is an extremely mobile one, and that whereas the census was taken in 1956, our survey was conducted three years later, in 1959.

During this interval it has been estimated that there was a net increase of 25,000 Europeans.

A chi-test was conducted for all comparable variables which confirmed their reliability in every case.

Sex(Table 65).

It is curious that while the G sample shows a slight excess in the proportion of males, 1.59% more than the corresponding census percentage, there is an equally slight preponderance of females (1.53%plus) in the S sample. This is probably due to the fact that in the rural areas fewer women than men went to the trouble of returning completed forms through the post. The extent of the sample deviations are, however, in each case insignificant.

Area(Table 66).

This has already been discussed. Apart from Salisbury, the largest proportion of the total population to complete the forms occurred in Gatooma, where 7.29% made returns, and in Gwelo, where the percentage was 3.18%. The main deficiency of the G sample lies in the lack of sufficient rural representation. In our views this renders the G sample valid for all urban areas but unreliable for general interpretations touching upon the country's rural population.

Age(Table 67).

When allowance is made for the fact that the census material contains no reference to the under-20 population, nor includes any of un-stated age, both the G and S samples follow almost exactly the known pattern of age-differentiation. The only noticeable discrepancies relate to the 35-39 age group, and the 65 and over. In the former case, this can be largely

accounted for by an increase in the immigrant rate for this group during the years 1956-59, while in the latter case observation suggests that of the respondents who declined to state their age, totalling 1.35% of both samples, the majority was among the elderly.

Country of Origin (Table 68).

Comparisons relating to those born in S. Africa and the United Kingdom respectively, these being cases where there is a discrepancy, are bedevilled by the fact that during the period elapsing between the census and our survey, a majority of the new immigrants were British. In 1958 for example, of 12,100 European newcomers, 51% were from Britain and only 30% from South Africa. Thus, during the interval, it is probable that the ratio in the population of Europeans originating from the United Kingdom and Eire to those born in South Africa was more reliably reflected by our sample proportion than by the results contained in the census of 1956.

Nevertheless, wherever an inference is drawn concerning which the country of birth seems to carry a relevance, it will be well to remember that the G sample may be slightly weighted towards the U.K. characteristics and away from the South African. The Salisbury sample although showing no discrepancy in the South African figure, may nevertheless also carry a slight bias towards the U.K. characteristic, and in this case away from other foreign nationals. This is because nearly all newly arrived non-English speaking immigrants gravitate to Salisbury where they remain at least until they can speak English. There were for this reason a number of potential respondents unable to co-operate through difficulties of language.

Marital Status (Table 75).

Out of every ten of our respondents, eight were married, one was single, and one was widowed, divorced, separated, or declined to say. This coincided with the national proportion almost exactly.

Occupation (Table 73).

Comparison with the census returns for occupation is difficult on account of the rather inclusive terms that were officially in use. An approximate comparison, however, indicated that both samples contained the appropriate proportions with the exception of farmers, of whom the sample is slightly deficient. The proportion of those engaged in administration and managerial occupations is naturally higher in urban areas, particularly in the capital city. This explains why 28% of the S sample are in this class, compared to the census figure for the country as a whole, of 24%.

Length of Residence.

Here the same difficulty was encountered as with occupation. In Southern Rhodesia, both a large majority of immigrants and a smaller majority of young people already in the country migrate into Salisbury. At the same time, retirement often takes place at an earlier age than is customary in Britain. In this way the average age of the city dweller is kept down, making it impossible to balance the S sample proportion against a census figure which included the whole country. The discrepancy of the G sample will be accounted for by its bias towards the urbanised European.

'Felt' Nationality.

This question was included because it seemed that one way in which assimilation is reflected is by the feeling of national 'belonging'. We therefore asked the simple question: What nationality do you feel yourself? * In their study of race attitudes, ~~2~~ Rogers and Frantz had asked this question with such unexpected results that we wished to repeat their questions within the context of our work. Our results were so different that it is difficult to account for the difference. In the race attitudes study, only 2% regarded themselves as "British", although 61% thought of themselves as 'English', and, most surprisingly, only 1% stated they were 'Rhodesian', the same percentage as said they were Jewish, although 14% thought of themselves as Afrikaners - seven times the percentage who said they were South African. Again, it is interesting to notice that whereas 187 respondents (36%) were born in the United Kingdom or Ireland, 304 (61%) thought of themselves as 'English', while no fewer than 378 (76%) said they were British, Scottish, Irish or Welsh. This was more than twice the combined total actually born in these areas.

Our own results were quite different and more as expected. 38% said they felt primarily 'British' - the same number who felt 'Rhodesian'. Less than 1% felt Afrikaner although 8% said 'South African'. 47% of our respondents were born in either the United Kingdom or Ireland, 1% more than the total of those who primarily felt themselves English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh.

* Exact figures shown in Appendix III, p 392

It is difficult to account for these and other wide discrepancies. It is believed that the internal consistency of our proportions, supported as they are by subsequent work, particularly the studies reported on individual cases, confirmed the validity and reliability of the results as reported in Chapter III.

Church Membership.

While once again allowance has to be made for the changes in formal allegiance that may have taken place during the period between the census and the sample, the coincidence between the two sets of percentages is uniformly close. The only deviations of any size are the slight excess in the sample of 3% for those not associated with any church, and a 4% deficit of members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The latter is probably explained partly by suspicion towards any social investigation felt by the more extreme element, and partly by the fact that the majority of the members of this religion live in the smaller townships and rural areas. Nevertheless, in spite of this slight imbalance, the proportions of the samples falling into the nine given categories are reliably representative.

Annual Income.

No direct comparison with the official figures was possible owing to an overlap in the enumerations. It seemed to us that the census had made insufficient allowance for recording the higher incomes. In order to assign sufficient categories in this area in the sample it was necessary to depart from the census enumeration. Thus, whereas the census included six categories below an annual income of £1,500, this research included only five. In this way, six categories above this

figure have been coded instead of the census two. By further separating the census return according to sex, it was felt that the sample would reflect the true situation more accurately.

It was unfortunate that 10% of our respondents declined to state their income - 8% of the men and 12% of the women - but this was unlikely to have biased the general picture since, judging from the residential areas in which they occurred, most were among the higher income brackets already sufficiently well represented.

Political Preference.

The only comparison possible was with the figures for those voting at the 1958 General Election. Although any close parallel was of course impossible, the sample proportions conformed to the generally recognised trend away from the Dominion Party. The lower sample percentage for the governing United Federal Party is explained by the inclusion in the sample of independents (10% of the whole) and others (22% of the whole) many of whom would not vote at an election.

These, then, are the headings under which a comparison had been possible with known percentages. It seems reasonable to suppose that the samples, especially the more important S sample offer, with the few minor exceptions noted above, a valid and reliable basis for the inferences and conclusions that have been drawn, in Chapter .

General Response.

It was not long after the distribution of the questionnaire had begun, with assistants divided into three teams and appropriate areas allotted to each, that three considerable problems

arose. Since these continued to have a deleterious effect on the number of completed forms returned, something must be said about each of them. Together they must have accounted for a high percentage of the unreturned schedules.

The first problem was a misconception concerning the purpose of our enquiry. In addition to the inevitable suspicion about its motives and the cherished secrecy with which many people hid even their quite unimportant and commonplace opinions, it was frequently supposed that we would deduce from the responses we obtained the objective factual situation. One example will suffice. When confronted with the statement "South African goods are seldom as good as those produced in the U.K." and asked to agree or disagree, many respondents assumed that the answer given by the majority would be promoted to the status of a fact and that it would be implied, if the majority answer was 'yes' that South African goods were in fact seldom as good as their British counterpart or, if the answer was 'no' then the contrary.

The objective solution to any of the statements in the questionnaire, wherever such solutions might exist, was not, of course, our concern.

Associated with this misplaced hesitancy was the commonly voiced sentiment that the respondent did not have the facts, or could not be quite certain when what we required was his conviction or belief in the matter. A person who everyday contended that black and white did not mix, often hesitated to admit saying so when faced with the identical statement printed on a form, inviting agreement or otherwise.

The tense delicacy of the political situation increased the suspicion and added to the hesitancy. Academics at the University College who soiled their radical hands in politics, and visiting academics, often American, who were curiously invariable critics of European political behaviour in Central Africa, made the man-in-the-street naturally hostile to another academic enquiry, especially if asked a large number of quite personal questions, some of them about problems he had never even thought about before.

The second problem was the extreme mobility of the population. There were few homes where no-one was at home to answer our call, so that the commonly experienced bias caused in this way was not a serious one. But there were unfortunately several cases where the respondent had changed his address between the times of delivery and collection. There were also those who felt disinclined to help, either because they had just arrived, or because they were soon leaving.

The third obstacle lay in the haphazard, arbitrary manner in which many streets in Salisbury are numbered. It was often impossible for enumerators to collect from the houses at which they had previously delivered, and even when the same assistant was able to return, difficulties of identification were considerable. The main problem lay in the dual methods of identification employed, one according to the original plot number, and another according to the more customary methods of street numbering. These plots were frequently sub-divided so that there might be a 47A, a 47B, a 47C, and so on as far as 47K. Many street showed both forms of designation, so that, for example,

(plot) number 205 might be adjacent to (street) number 6; nor was this all: many houses did not display a number of any kind. When it is remembered that most European houses in Salisbury lie in their own grounds, often obscured from the road, and that street lighting, except in the central area, is non-existent, these difficulties will be appreciated.

In the greater Salisbury area, these three obstacles, suspicion and stubborn misunderstanding, vanishing respondents and obscured houses, accounted for the bulk of the accepted questionnaires that were not returned. But it was important to ascertain whether any common factor could be found linking non-cooperators. It was observed that the number of refusals received varied among our assistants, even among those working in the same area. This suggested that the manner, and even the appearance of the caller, played an important part in arousing sympathy or suspicion in the householder. But in order to learn more of the reasons why some people refused and, if possible, to ascertain at the same time whether refusers differed in any significant way from acceptors, two small scale investigations were made, one in the south of the city among the poorer residential area of Hatfield, the other in the north among the prosperous inhabitants of Highlands. A refusal was defined as a refusal either to accept the form initially, or to complete it after it had been accepted. Two of the most experienced assistants, together with the author, visited fifty homes where refusals had been recorded in each of these two areas.

The first task was to find out the reason for the refusal. In the light of the replies we received, it was clear that there

were five principal reasons why co-operation had not been achieved. It was apparent also that the reasons varied from one area to another, in accordance with prediction. Ten assistants were asked to predict, once the five reasons had been categorised, what the comparative rate of their incidence would be according to area. This prediction, decided by group discussion, was almost exactly corroborated by the results we obtained. This suggests that further study along these lines, incorporating other residential areas, would confirm this pattern of refusal.

The first of the five categories was a failure on the part of the householder to understand the nature and purpose of the questionnaire. After this had been explained with care and patience, the recipient agreed to co-operate. When he (or she) did not, the case was placed in a different category. It was clear that the first reason, misunderstanding, was primarily a fault of administration, which would account for the wide differences in the rate of refusals experienced by our assistants.

The second reason was active hostility or distrust. Under this heading came people who believed that interference could only damage the country, people whose fear hid guilt, people whose life was not geared to co-operation in any sphere, and people, like some Seventh Day Adventists, who felt obliged to decline on grounds of principle. Although none came to our notice in the areas we investigated, there were doubtless families experiencing some kind of crisis, disinclining them from being troubled by anything less than essentials.

The third factor we called cynicism. This was generally expressed as a refusal to accept that anything could improve

the conditions either of the country or its people, or alternatively, the view that the questionnaire was valueless.

Fourthly, there was apathy. Sometimes this would be due to an absence of apparent intelligence, sometimes to a "couldn't-care-less" attitude. Both were remarkably unresponsive to discussion or argument and both were reported by the teams to have been more frequent in the poorer areas, south of the railway line that bisects Salisbury. Frequently a household would refuse to complete more than one questionnaire, although there might be four or five residents above the age of eighteen. This probably accounted for the majority of the apathetic cases.

Fifthly, there were the clear cases of age and infirmity. When these were encountered, persuasion was discouraged. Occasionally a form would be accepted on behalf of someone who, when confronted himself with the paper, was unable or unwilling to concentrate on the four pages it contained.

For the two areas in which we followed up cases of refusal, Table 64 shows the proportions that fell into the various categories and the number of converts who, consequent upon our visit, fulfilled the promise to help.

TABLE 64 .

<u>HIGHLANDS.</u>		Type of Reason.	<u>HATFIELD</u>	
No.	Converts.		No.	Converts.
16	16	Failure to understand.	10	10
15	7	Distrust	8	2
7	3	Apathy	16	5
3	1	Cynicism	6	2
6	1	Age, infirmity.	9	0
2	0	Other reasons.	1	0
49	28	TOTALS.	50	19

From this miniature study a number of interesting considerations emerged. The first was that, if these areas offered a

reliable guide, about one half of the people who declined to co-operate, either initially or after they had considered the matter, would have been willing to do so had the nature of our enquiry been more carefully explained. The second was that of the remainder, active dislike or passive disinterest dictated the refusal. The former was perhaps the more frequent response in the politically more sophisticated and more flourishing areas, where there was more to be lost than gained from change. The latter attitude seemed more frequent in areas where intelligence and active interest in everyday affairs was likely to be lower and where change would more likely bring gain than loss.

The third consideration was the possibility of significant characteristics among the refusals such that the absence of their replies lent a bias to the results. Statistically it would have been virtually impossible to determine whether this definitely was or was not the case since it would have demanded completed returns from a large number of those who had already once refused. All that can be said is that an examination of the replies obtained from the 47 'converts' failed to suggest any statistically diagnosable departure from the results gained from the general sample. As for the strongminded who continued in their refusal to co-operate in spite of our patient explanations and requests, it is not possible to predict their responses. All that can be argued is that it is unlikely that their refusal affected our findings in any important way, for the following reasons:

- 1) As has been shown the S sample is fully representative of all normal demographic characteristics and it is sufficient in size.

2) The refusal study suggests that most of the consistent refusers did so either because they have no faith in social research or because they are jealous of their country's internal 'privacy'. In our view, bearing in mind the context in which these beliefs are held, neither of these motives was likely to mask any common sociological or psychological pattern certainly none that the questionnaire was equipped to identify had these responses been forthcoming. A dislike or distrust of doctors does not indicate any specific disease, even if the reasons for the sentiment are known. In other words, we believe that the refusals were occasioned by unique circumstances from which, whether known or unknown, no generalised characteristics, social or psychological, could be reasonably inferred.

3) The nature of most of our findings was such that any bias in the sampling due to the exclusion of an attitude (the attitudes towards filling in the questionnaire) would be irrelevant. For example, a relationship was established between anomia and feelings towards the country, significant factors were also traced having a direct bearing upon political partialities. Since all the factors involved and touched upon by the questionnaire were amply represented and since it is highly improbable that these inter-relationships had any contingent association with the above attitude, or, even if they did, that a sufficient proportion of those inter-relationships thus associated was internally consistent and so contrary to the given results as to change or modify them, the fact of their absence can be reasonably dismissed.

4) About 50% of those who refused, at least in the Salisbury area, would not have done so if the initial approach had been different.

Sometimes these would be cases of individual reactions to the personal approach of an assistant, often the householder had been too busy entertaining friends,^x and the enumerator not insistent enough. These were not the basically atypical people likely to answer differently from others of their image and sex and income, occupation and political opinion (all amply and proportionately represented).

For all these reasons, it was concluded that the S sample was not in any way significantly affected by the absence of replies from a number of the population.

* A very common Rhodesian pastime. Television had not then arrived.

APPENDIX II.Response to General Questionnaire, Section N.
Cols. 42/43.Code.

Not stated.	0
Critical of questions.	1
Political.	2
Cost of living.	3
African advance too rapid.	4
Insecurity.	5
Immigration.	6
Lack of amenities.	7
African hygiene.	8
Interference.	9
Equal rights.	10
Uninformed criticism.	11
Racial problem.	12
Happy.	13
Job dis-satisfaction.	14
General dis-satisfaction.	15
More facilities for Africans.	16
Too many Europeans.	17
Bad for children.	18
Alcohol.	19
Too far from sea.	20
Keeping up with Jones'.	21
Too many parties.	22
Bad driving.	23
Lack of home life.	24
Laziness, apathy, inefficiency.	25
Ignorance, narrowness, selfishness.	26
Credit.	27
Remove foreign Africans.	28
Lack of religion.	29
Sunday sport bad.	30
Broken homes.	31
Low morals.	32
Servants unreliable.	33
Bad law.	34
Absence of P.A.Y.E.	35
Bilharzia.	36
Wrong spirit.	37

For purposes of χ^2 analysis, these were classified as follows:

Categories of disapproval	(Political	2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11.
	(Social	7, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26,
	(	31, 32, 33.
	(Racial	4, 8, 12, 16, 28.
	(Religious	29, 30, 31, 32, 37.
	(Economic	3, 5, 14, 27, 35.
	(General	15, 20, 23, 34, 36.

APPENDIX III

Demographic Data : Comparison of Sample with 1956
Census Returns.

TABLE 65
Sex.

	Census %age	Sample %age	Salisbury %age	Sample deviation	Salisbury deviation
Male	52.46	54.05	50.93	1.59 +	1.53 -
Female	47.54	45.70	49.07	1.84 -	1.53 +
Not known	--	0.25	--	0.25 +	--

TABLE 66
Area of Residence.

	Census		Sample		Sample deviation
	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	
	11789	99.99	2000		
Salisbury (Municipality & suburbs)	4176	35.73	1594	79.70	43.97 +
Bulawayo (Municipality & suburbs)	2747	22.64	120	6.00	16.64 -
Umtali (Municipality & suburbs)	441	3.77	79	3.95	0.18 +
Small Towns	281	2.40	24	1.20	1.20 -
Mining Town- ships	240	2.05	2	0.10	1.95 -
Midland Towns	599	5.12	120	6.00	0.88 +
Rural	3305	28.28	31	1.55	26.73 -

TABLE 67
Age.

Years.	Census No.	Per Cent.	Sample No.	Per Cent.	Salisbury percent.	Sample deviation	Salisbury deviation
18/20	-	-	61	3.05	2.83	-	-
20/24	1224	10.46	171	8.55	8.61	1.91 -	1.85 -
25/29	1632	13.95	279	13.95	14.64	No deviation	0.69 +
30/34	1772	15.15	301	15.05	15.09	0.10 -	0.06 -
35/39	1525	13.04	334	16.70	16.57	3.66 +	3.53 +
40/44	1505	12.86	251	12.55	12.78	0.31 -	0.08 -
45/49	1234	10.55	205	10.25	9.57	0.30 -	0.98 -
50/54	911	7.79	165	8.25	8.35	0.46 +	0.56 +
55/59	612	5.23	91	4.55	4.62	0.68 -	0.61 -
60/64	440	3.76	54	2.70	2.76	1.06 -	1.00 -
65 & over	844	7.21	61	3.05	2.83	4.16 -	4.38 -
Not known	--	--	27	1.35	1.35	--	--

TABLE 68
Country of Birth.

	Census No.	Percent.	Sample. No.	Percent.	Salisbury Percent.	Sample Deviation	Salisbury deviation
S.Africa	4123	35.25	605	30.25	34.81	5.00 -	0.44 -
UK. & Ire- land (Inc. Malta and Channel Is.)	4161	35.58	936	46.80	48.04	11.22 +	12.46 +
S.Rhodesia	1695	14.49	253	12.65	11.75	1.84 -	2.74 -
N.Rhodesia/ Nyasaland.	125	1.07	22	1.10	1.09	0.03 +	0.02 +
Other Common- wealth nations.	412	3.52	30	1.50	1.16	2.02 -	2.36 -
Other foreign.	1070	9.15	148	7.40	3.15	1.75 -	6.00 -
Visitors, born at sea, and N.S.	109	0.93	6	0.40	0.00	0.53 -	0.93 -
	11695	99.99	2000	100.00	100.00		

TABLE _____ # 69

Nationality Felt.

No.	£ Percent.	No.	Sample Percent.	Salisbury percent.	Sample deviation.	Salisbury deviation.
8	1.6)	760	38.00)	38.47)		
304	60.8)	120	6.00)	6.61)		
39	7.8)	23	1.15)	1.16)	26.95 -	25.83 -
10	2.0)	2	0.10)	0.13)		
17	3.4	16	0.80	0.71		
Rhodesian	1.0	755	37.75	35.58	2.60 -	2.69 -
S. African	2.2	166	8.30	8.93	36.75 +	34.58 +
Afrikaner	14.2	17	0.85	1.03	6.10 +	6.73 +
Jewish-Hebrew	1.2)				13.35 -	13.17 -
Other	5.8)	84	4.20	4.56	2.80 -	2.44 -
Not known	-----	57	2.85	2.83	-----	
500	100.0	2000	100.00	100.01		

The comparison in this table is with the Rogers/Frantz Study, and not with the census.

TABLE 70
Religion.

	<u>Census</u>		<u>Sample</u>		<u>Salisbury</u> <u>percent</u>	<u>Sample</u> <u>percent.</u>	<u>Salisbury</u> <u>deviation.</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent.</u>			
Anglican	4788	40.86	817	40.85	39.88	0.01 -	0.98 -
Presbyterian	1454	12.41	247	12.35	12.97	0.06 -	0.56 +
Roman Catholic	1381	11.79	207	10.35	11.11	1.44 -	0.68 -
Dutch Reformed Church	1280	10.92	79	3.95	4.17	6.97 -	6.75 -
Methodist	1031	8.80	181	9.05	8.16	1.25 +	0.64 -
Greek Orthodox	144	1.23	17	0.85	0.90	0.38 -	0.33 -
Hebrew-Jewish	371	3.17	47	2.35	1.86	0.82 -	1.31 -
Others (spec)	699	5.97	118	5.90	6.17	0.07 -	0.20 +
None(spec)	557	4.75	153	7.65	8.03	2.90 +	3.28 +
Not stated	13	0.11	134	6.70	6.74	6.59 +	6.63 +
	11718	100.01	2000	100.00	99.99		

TABLE 71
Length of Residence.

<u>Years.</u>	<u>Census</u>		<u>Sample</u>		<u>Salisbury</u> <u>percent</u>	<u>Sample</u> <u>percent.</u>	<u>Salisbury</u> <u>deviation.</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>			
0-4	3116	26.64	577	28.85	32.50	2.21 +	5.86 +
5-9	2807	24.00	409	20.45	21.19	3.53 -	2.81 -
10-19	1225	10.47	424	21.20	20.17	10.73 +	9.70 -
20-24	471*	4.03	85	4.25	2.76	0.22 +	1.27 -
25 & over	2305*	19.71	253	12.65	11.30	7.06 -	6.41 -
Born in Rhodesia	1695	14.49	244	12.20	12.01	2.29 -	2.48 -
Not stated	76	0.65	8	0.40	0.06	0.25 -	0.59 -
	11695	99.99	2000	100.00	99.99		

* Excluding Rhodesia born

TABLE 72
Income.

£	Census	
	No.	Percent.
NIL	3565	30.47
1-299	1038	8.87
3-599	1537	13.14
6-899	1659	14.18
9-1199	1770	15.13
12-1499	862	7.36
15-1799	281	2.40
1800 +	783	6.69
N.S.	205	1.75
	11700	100.00

Sample							
Salisbury percent.	£	Males		Females		Total	
		No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.
23.57	NIL	21	1.94	452	49.45	473	23.71
3.28	1- 399	15	1.39	40	4.38	55	2.76
9.63	4- 699	48	4.44	141	15.43	189	9.47
10.92	7- 999	98	9.07	108	11.82	206	10.30
17.79	10-1299	312	28.86	38	4.16	350	17.54
11.88	13-1799	235	21.74	15	1.64	250	12.53
5.46	18-2199	113	10.45	3	0.33	116	5.81
2.70	22-2599	55	5.09	-	-	55	2.76
0.45	25-2999	12	1.11	-	-	12	0.60
2.63	30-3999	56	5.18	3	0.33	59	2.96
1.22	40 +	29	2.68	1	0.11	30	1.50
10.47	N.S.	87	8.05	113	12.36	200	10.02
100.00		1081	100.00	914	100.01	1995#	99.99

Excluding 5 who did not indicate sex.

TABLE 73
Occupation
 (for occupations which are comparable)

	<u>Census</u>		<u>Salisbury</u> percent.	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Sample</u> deviation	<u>Salisbury</u> deviation
	No.	percent.		No.	Percent.		
Professional /Technical	1213	10.37	11.30	241	12.05	1.68+	0.93+
Administra- tive, Mana- gerial and Clerical	2789	23.84	28.39	553	28.15	4.31+	4.55+
Farmers	761	6.50	0.45	33	1.65	4.85-	6.05-
Craftsmen	916	7.83	9.06	168	8.40	0.57+	1.23+
Others (foremen and skilled)	925	7.91	8.54	159	7.95	0.04+	0.63+
Service workers	377	3.22	2.76	57	2.85	0.37-	0.46-
Economically inactive	3914	33.45	29.03	572	28.60	4.85-	4.42-
Others	803	6.86	10.47	207	10.35	3.49+	3.61+
	11698	99.98	100.00	2000	100.00		

TABLE 74
Federal Election 1958 figures.

<u>Electorate</u>			<u>Sample</u>		<u>Sample</u> <u>deviation</u>	<u>Salisbury</u> <u>percentage</u>
<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent.</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent.</u>		
18482	37.79	Dominion Party	410	20.50	17.29 -	21.00
28706	58.69	U.F.P.	913	45.65	13.04 -	44.51
--	--	C.A.P.	58	2.90	--	2.95
1135	2.32	Independents	139	9.45	7.13 +	9.51
55	0.11	Confederate	8	0.40	0.29 +	0.45
534	1.09	Others	422	21.10	20.01 +	21.58
	100.00		2000	100.00		100.00

TABLE 75
Marital Status

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Sample</u> <u>percent.</u>	<u>Salisbury</u> <u>percent.</u>
Married	1623	81.15	81.18
Single	205	10.25	12.65
Divorced	30	1.50	1.41
Widowed	52	2.60	2.82
Separated	7	0.35	0.32
Not stated	83	4.15	1.61
	2000	100.00	99.99

IV
APPENDIX

General Data. *

1.

TABLE 76
Migrational Movement among European
population in Southern Rhodesia.

	1957	1958	1959	1960
Immigration	17,400	12,900	8,100	7,400
Estimated emigration	5,100	5,300	4,400	9,700
Estimated ret. immigration	+12,300	+7,600	+3,700	-2,300

* Source: Central African Statistical Office.

2.

TABLE 76A.

European population and Immigration rate,
1921 - 60.

Period	Immigration	Average Total Population	Immigration ratio
1921-6	9,400	36,000	1 : 4
1926-31	20,106	45,000	1 : 2.25
1931-6	9,090	54,000	1 : 6
1936-41	12,850	75,000	1 : 6
1941-6	8,250	80,000	1 : 10
1946-51	64,634	129,000	1 : 2
1952-6	60,361	150,000	1 : 2.5
1957	17,400	193,000	1 : 11
1958	12,900	207,000	1 : 16
1959	18,100	215,000	1 : 25.5
1960	7,400	223,000	1 : 30

Sources: Southern Rhodesia Yearbook
and C.A.S.O.

TABLE
Nationality of White immigrants in
1958 - 1960.

	1958	1959	1960
<u>British.</u>			
Born in the U.K. and Eire.	8,453	5,384	4,482
Born in Republic of S.A.	5,040	4,494	4,611
Others British by birth.	736	560	835
Naturalised.	88	172	180
	<u>14,317</u>	<u>10,610</u>	<u>10,108</u>
<u>Non-British.</u>			
Hollanders	653	272	178
Italians	489	208	253
Portuguese	197	105	115
Americans	167	176	275
Germans	166	145	126
Greeks	75	89	101
Austrians	62	13	21
Swiss	50	37	37
Israelis	45	11	12
French	30	32	30
Yugoslavs	40	15	17
Poles	33	14	11
Danes	30	36	22
Others	125	100	106
	<u>2,162</u>	<u>1,253</u>	<u>1,304</u>
GRAND TOTAL	16,479	11,863	11,412

Since 1951, the European population has grown at an average compound rate of 6.5 per cent per annum.

TABLE

Changing Employment of the Economically active
European Population in S. Rhodesia.

	1931	1936	1941	per 1,000.		1956 (est.)	Britain
				1946	1951		
Agriculture & Forestry.	187	163	140	146	118	98	50
Mining	81	150	114	80	45	39	38
Manufacture, construction, water & elec: services.	163	154	201	233	303	320	409
Transport & communications	125	97	83	90	88	85	122
Commerce	175	180	188	171	187	183	142
Services	257	246	266	273	249	251	238
Others	12	10	8	7	10	14	1

6 In 1956, the economically active European population
of Salisbury was distributed as follows:

Total.

%age of total population.

61,850

35.1

Occupational Area.	Per thousand economically active.
Agriculture & Mining.	17
Manufacturing, Water and electricity.	207
Construction.	145
Communications.	83
Commerce.	248
Services.	287
Others.	13

401

TABLE 79
Emigration from S. Rhodesia.
Aug. 1958 to Dec. 1960.

	Leaving temporarily.	On re-tire-ment.	Busi-ness Trans-fer	Family/Person-al	Econ-omic.	Health	Repatri-ated, Deported	Change of Occupa-tion.	Return to coun-try of origin	Change of coun-try	Further studies	Not stated	TOTAL	Visitors leaving after 12 months.	Adjusted totals published in migration report.	Immigrants.
1958																
Aug.	434	88	182	46	32	40	1	42	21	10	27	22	945	23	968	1347
Sept.	169	98	160	22	42	27	5	54	37	39	40	21	714	1	715	1209
Oct.	114	88	109	7	10	6	2	109	39	16	22	4	526	21	547	1159
Nov.	176	50	144	45	11	11	3	125	24	33	4	21	647	26	673	1107
Dec.	243	78	132	40	11	20	2	113	38	45	26	40	788	27	815	1060
1959																
Jan.	106	46	122	27	15	11	2	100	19	52	47	6	553			1116
Feb.	219	44	133	27	35	41	1	118	71	18	27	31	765			1186
March	215	56	150	16	18	12	3	86	28	47	22	95	742			1231
April	195	42	117	22	25	15	1	75	37	54	29	57	669			1148
May	278	13	191	59	30	12	8	37	121	64	3	59	875			1047
June	181	44	118	24	34	24	6	74	35	55	25	33	653			968
July	206	46	133	46	52	21	5	33	45	33	9	22	651			1030
Aug.	326	46	127	38	17	47	11	71	25	43	11	23	785			966
Sept.	256	65	116	64	55	30	1	44	40	17	16	31	735			1026
Oct.	244	51	122	38	20	22	7	56	37	23	4	30	654			911
Nov.	198	43	151	16	9	16		47	36	16		31	563			1003
Dec.	173	53	162	37	19	12	8	78	41	53	24	12	672			884
1960																
Jan.	219	37	143	26	8	14	2	74	35		7	21	586			1126
Feb.	205	37	138	30	20	11	10	67	45	13	8	41	625			1063
March	156	41	117	28	22	15	2	127	58	8	20	50	644			929
April	217	37	146	31	4	28	1	51	27	35	8	59	694			983
May	265	74	162	35	7	8	3	71	73	54	23	36	811			924
June	190	48	97	25	16	11	3	43	189	54	10	30	716			770
July	256	43	99	34	15	18	2	131	54	41	24	51	768			809
Aug.	324	90	187	48	19	27	4	137	59	45	30	16	986			916
Sept.	388	73	117	54	11	46	7	102	126	81	12	49	1066			856
Oct.	323	78	130	41	16	30		118	90	20	9	63	917			835
Nov.	202	101	171	44	4	15	7	99	58	50	2	54	807			833
Dec.	307	95	243	61	9	17	5	125	81	50	15	78	1086			763

APPENDIX VStatistical Formulae.

1. For measuring discrepancy between the observed and independence frequencies of two variables, χ^2 was used.

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_t)^2}{f_t}$$

where f_o = observed frequency
 f_t = theoretical frequency.

2. For the application of chi square when any cell frequency was less than 10, Yates's correction for continuity was employed.

This correction required the reduction by .5 of each obtained frequency that was greater than expected, and the increase by .5 of each frequency less than expected.

3. To measure contingency in a 2 x 2 table, phi-coefficient was employed.

$$\phi = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}}$$

4. To measure contingency when the number of columns was equal to the number of rows, and when both exceeded 2, Tschuprow's T was employed.

$$T^2 = \frac{\chi^2}{N \sqrt{(s-1)(t-1)}}$$

where s = the number of categories for one variable
 t = the number of categories for the other variable.

5. To measure the coefficient of correlation when:
- i) there was a straight line relationship between variables;
 - ii) the frequencies approximated to a bivariate normal distribution with most of the cases having middle values in both variables;
 - iii) there was similarity of scatter throughout the whole range of the variable;

the Pearsonian product moment coefficient of correlation was employed.

$$r_{xy} = \frac{\sum xy}{\sqrt{(\sum x^2)(\sum y^2)}}$$

6. To measure the correlation coefficient with ranked data, p , was used.

$$p = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

7. The normal values of significance for χ^2 , r_{xy} and p were used.

In the case of χ^2 these were based on Table III of Fisher's Statistical Methods for Research Workers.

In the case of r_{xy} they were based on Table Va (ibid).

The significance for p was taken from Olds E.G., Ann. math. Statist. 1949 20, 117-118.

8. For determining the significance of the deviation of the sample mean, a Z score was computed according to the formula:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{x} - \mu}{\sigma \bar{x}}$$

where \bar{x} = the sample mean

μ = the population mean

$\sigma \bar{x} = \frac{S}{\sqrt{N-1}}$, where S = standard deviation
where N = number of sample cases.

9. Where the number of cases in the table was less than 30, Student's t was used.

The table of t values used was extracted from Introduction to Statistical Analysis, Dixon & Massey (1951).

10. For studying the sample distribution of differences between two sample means when the samples were drawn independently of each other, the following formula was employed:

$$\sigma \bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2 = \sqrt{\sigma_{\bar{x}_1}^2 + \sigma_{\bar{x}_2}^2}$$

$$t = \frac{(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2) - 0}{\sigma \bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}$$

(When the direction of differences expected was stated before

the samples were observed, a one-tailed test of significance was employed; i.e. when the standard score is beyond the point which has 5% of cases above it, rather than 2.5% of the cases as with a two-tailed test).

11. The analysis of variance, used in the supporting paper, involved a two-way classification analysis without replications.

The total sum of squares was computed:

$$\sum x_{ij}^2 = \sum x_{ij}^2 - \frac{(\sum x_{ij})^2}{N}$$

The sum of squares between rows:

$$\sum d_r^2 = \frac{\sum (\sum x_r)^2}{K} - \frac{(\sum x_{ij})^2}{K \cdot r}$$

where k = number of columns.

r = number of rows.

The sum of squares between columns is given by:

$$\sum d_k^2 = \frac{\sum (\sum x_k)^2}{r} - \frac{(\sum x_{ij})^2}{r \cdot k}$$

where the symbols are as defined above,

The table of points for the distribution of F was that taken from Statistical Methods, Snedecor G.W. 1937.

12. The coefficient of variation, as a measure of absolute variability, was obtained according to the formula

$$V = \frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} \left(\frac{100}{1} \right)$$

13. The selection of items for the satisfaction score according to the method of summated ratings, was obtained by the formula:

$$t = \frac{\bar{x}_H - \bar{x}_L}{\sqrt{\frac{s_H^2}{n_H} + \frac{s_L^2}{n_L}}}$$

- where \bar{X}_H = the mean score on a given statement for the high group
- \bar{X}_L = the mean score on the same statement for the low group
- S_H^2 = the variance of the distribution of responses of the high group to the statement
- S_L^2 = the variance of the distribution of responses of the low group to the statement
- n_H = the number of subjects in the high group
- n_L = the number of subjects in the low group

14. As the research was concerned with the attitude of a single subject relative to the attitudes of other subjects, a relative interpretation of the scores was obtained thus:

$$T = 50 + 10 \left(\frac{x - \bar{x}}{s} \right)$$

where T = a T score

x = the raw score of a given subject

\bar{x} = the arithmetic mean of the distribution

s = the standard deviation of the distribution of scores

15. The coefficient of reproducibility used in connection with the Cornell technique* (for Srole's anomia scale) was obtained by subtracting the proportion of errors (i.e. $\frac{\text{total errors}}{\text{total responses}}$) from unity.

16. The index of homogamy (H) was obtained by the use of

Savorgnan's formula $H = \frac{(AB)(ab) - (Ab)(aB)}{\sqrt{[(A)(B)(a)(b)]}}$ Where: (A) = husband within ethnic group
(B) = wife -ditto-
(a) = husband outside ethnic group
(b) = wife -ditto-

* Guttman.L. The Cornell Technique for scale and intensity analysis.

APPENDIX VI.

F 1	General Questionnaire.
F 6	Projective Questions.
F 9	Racial Conceptions.
F 10	F-Scale.
F 11	Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale.
F 12	General Structured Questions.
F 13*	Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.
F 14	Satisfaction Scale (incorporated in F 1 as section F)
F 15	Anomia (incorporated in F 1 as section G)
F 19	Social Intelligence.
F 26	Residential Questionnaire.
F 31	General Semi-Structured questions.
F 33	Rogers-Frantz Attitude Questionnaire.
F 34	Prospective Immigrant Interview Schedule.
	Notes to Assistants on interviewing case studies.
	Note supplied with F 1.

* As this is a printed standardised test, a copy is not included.

407 F. 1

THE RHODES — LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

P.O. Box 8156, Causeway,
Salisbury,
Southern Rhodesia.

SOCIAL RESEARCH (EUROPEAN)

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are asking for your co-operation in a research scheme which this Institute is undertaking into certain aspects of social life in Southern Rhodesia. The project has the blessing of the Southern Rhodesia Government and it is hoped that, with your help, the results we achieve will ultimately aid social improvement in the territory.

All replies will be treated in the strictest confidence and there is no necessity to disclose either your name or address.

In order to ensure that what appears is your own personal opinion, please do not discuss any of the questions with other people until after you have finished.

These papers will be collected by our assistants with ballot boxes about two weeks after you receive them. To avoid unnecessary delay and expense, it would be appreciated if they could be completed in good time.

As it would be of great help to us in future aspects of the work to have as many names and addresses as possible, there is a space available for these details to be inserted by those willing to co-operate. This may be put into the ballot box separately when the forms are collected.

Finally, those of you who are interested in the results of the research are invited to put an X in the space provided beside your name. A summary of results will then be mailed to you in due course.

Thank you for your time and patience.

Yours faithfully,

(Peter J. M. McEwan, M.A.)
RESEARCH OFFICER

P.S. If you experience difficulty in answering any of these questions, please mention it when the sheets are collected.

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<i>GENERAL DETAILS</i>				Col.	Code
District:				1/2
Sex:				3
Age last birthday:				4/5
Marital status:				6
Occupation (give rank and/or status)				7/8	.....
Father's occupation:				9/10	.....
Country of origin:				11	.....
Country and town of previous permanent residence:				12/13	.....
Year of arrival in Southern Rhodesia:				14/16	.....
Of what nationality do you <i>feel</i> yourself:				17	.....
Church membership:				18	.....
Annual income:				19	.....
No. of Jobs held in Rhodesia:				20	.....
Monthly rental or current value of home:				21/22	.....
Highest educational level attained:				23	.....
What Political Party do you prefer: .....					.....
<i>PLEASE PUT A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN</i>				Col.	Code
<i>SECTION B.</i>					
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; width: 100%;"> Agree Disagree No. Opinion </div>					
The ordinary family has little chance of owning two cars				24	.....
South African goods are seldom as good as those produced in the U.K.				25	.....

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

PLEASE PUT A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN.

SECTION F.	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Col.	Code
If more people knew of the opportunities here they would come out						1	
The best reason for staying in Rhodesia is the climate						2	
In Rhodesia one enjoys a high standard of living						3	
Anyone who could afford it would be wise to leave						4	
My expectations of Rhodesia have all been fulfilled						5	
The rising cost of living makes one think seriously about leaving here						6	
In Rhodesia people are always prepared to help one another						7	
Things would be better if we ran the country like the Union						8	
The future looks very black						9	
One should feel proud to be a citizen of Rhodesia						10	
Rhodesians neglect the care of aged and sick						11	
Moral standards are lower than in Britain						12	
This is a wonderful country for children						13	
Living in Rhodesia is enjoyable						14	
The bush is part of Rhodesia's charm						15	
Rhodesia is a place to come to for a short time only						16	
There is equal opportunity for all in Rhodesia						17	
We need a million more Europeans here						18	
If people here could choose where to settle again, few nowadays would choose Rhodesia						19	
On the whole Rhodesia has sensible politicians						20	
SECTION G.	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Col.	Code
In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse						21	
It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future						22	
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for to-day and let to-morrow take care of itself						23	
These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on						24	
There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the common man						25	
SECTION H.						Col.	Code
It is often said that people belong to one class or another. What do you think are the main classes in Rhodesian society?						26	
In what order of importance would you place the following factors in deciding to which class a person here belongs?						27	
..... COUNTRY OF ORIGIN							
..... FAMILY							
..... EDUCATION							
..... MONEY							
..... WORK							
..... SORT OF PEOPLE HE MIXES WITH							
..... POWER							
..... PRESTIGE							
To which class would you say you belonged?						28	
If their jobs were all you knew about the following types of people, to which class would you say they belonged?							
..... POLITICIANS							
..... SPORTSMEN							
..... ARTISTS							
..... POLICE							
..... OWNERS OF LARGE BUSINESSES							
..... FARMERS							
..... RAILWAYMEN							
..... TEACHERS							
..... SHOP ASSISTANTS							
..... DOCTORS							
..... MILITARY							
..... EXECUTIVES of LARGE BUSINESSES							
..... SHOPKEEPERS							
..... SCIENTISTS							
..... OFFICE WORKERS							

F 6.

1. We all have times when we feel below par. What moods and feelings are the most unpleasant or disturbing to you?
2. What do you consider the worst crimes a person could commit?
3. What great people, living or dead, do you admire most?
4. We all have impulses and desires which are at times hard to control but which we try to keep in check. What desires to you have difficulty in controlling?
5. Nearly everyone has said to himself at some time or other "If this goes on it will drive me mad". What might make a person go mad?
6. If you knew you only had six months to live, but could do just as you pleased during that time, how would you spend the period?
7. We get a feeling of awe when something seems to us wonderful or impressive, or really important. What things would give you the greatest feeling of awe?
8. Most of us find certain things about people get our backs up. What qualities in a person most antagonise you?
9. It seems that no matter how careful we are, we all sometimes have embarrassing moments. What experiences make you feel like falling through the floor?
10. What displeases you most about yourself?

F.9.

Please place a tick against whichever answer to the following questions most nearly approaches your own opinion :-

As far as intelligence is concerned, would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans are in general :

- (a) Superior to Europeans.
- (b) Similar to Europeans.
- (c) Inferior to Europeans?

As far as morality is concerned, would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans are in general :

- (a) Superior to Europeans.
- (b) Similar to Europeans (or totally incomparable).
- (c) Inferior to Europeans?

As far as personal ambition is concerned would you say that, compared to Europeans, Africans have in general :

- (a) Greater ambition than Europeans.
- (b) A similar amount to Europeans.
- (c) Less ambition than Europeans ?

As far as accepting responsibility is concerned, do you think that compared to Europeans, Africans are in general:

- (a) Better able to accept responsibility
- (b) Equally well able to accept responsibility
- (c) Less well able to accept responsibility?

At the present time, the rate of African advancement is

- (a) Too rapid. (b) About right. (c) Too slow.

Africans should be paid the same rate for the job as Europeans.

- (a) Strongly agree. (b) Slightly agree. (c) Undecided.
- (d) Slightly disagree. (e) Strongly disagree

F.9.

- 2 -

African and European urban housing areas must be kept separate.

- (a) Stongly agree. (b) Slightly agree (c) Undecided.
(d) Slightly disagree. (e) Strongly disagree.

F.10

Please answer the following questions by placing a cross in the square which most closely corresponds to your own opinion:

	<u>AGREE</u>				<u>DISAGREE</u>		
	str.	mod.	sli.		str.	mod.	sli.
1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.							
2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.							
3. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.							
4. Human nature being what it is there will always be war and conflict.							
5. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.							
6. When a person has a problem or worry it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.							
7. A person who has bad manners, traits and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.							
8. What the youth needs most is perfect discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country.							
9. Some people are born with							

-

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1997-1998

18. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
19. The British way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.
20. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain private and personal.
21. Wars and social troubles may some day be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
22. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked and feeble-minded people.
23. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame in comparison with some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
24. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
25. Most people don't realise how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

26. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.
27. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
28. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
29. Familiarity breeds contempt.
30. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

<u>AGREE</u>				<u>DISAGREE</u>		
str.	mod.	sli.		str.	mod.	sli.

F 11.

Please say whether the following statements are in each case generally true or false as applied to yourself.

1. I am troubled by attacks of nausea.
2. I am about as nervous as other people.
3. I work under a great deal of strain.
4. I blush at least as often as others.
5. I have diarrhoea once a month or more.
6. I worry quite a bit over possible troubles.
7. When embarrassed I often break out in a sweat which is very annoying.
8. I do not notice my heart pounding and I am seldom short of breath.
9. Often my bowels don't move for several days at a time.
10. At times I lose sleep over worry.
11. My sleep is restless and disturbed.
12. I often dream about things I don't like to tell other people.
13. My feelings are hurt more easily than most people's.
14. I often find myself worrying about something.
15. My feelings are hurt more easily than most people's.
16. I feel anxious about something or someone almost all the time.
17. At times I am so restless I cannot sit in a chair for very long.
18. I have often felt that I faced so many difficulties I could not overcome them.
19. At times I have been worried beyond reason about something that did not matter.
20. I do not have as many fears as my friends.
21. I am more self-conscious than most people.
22. I am the kind of person who takes things to heart.

/continued.

F 11 continued.

- 23. I am a very nervous person.
- 24. Life is often a strain for me.
- 25. I am not at all confident of myself.
- 26. At times I feel that I am going to crack up.
- 27. I don't like to face a difficulty or make an important decision.
- 28. I am very confident of myself.

F 12.

1. In what way does -- appeal to you?
2. What are the main advantages? Satisfactions?
3. What are the less attractive aspects of being a ... ?
4. Have you always felt that you are cut out for this sort of work?
5. What, would you say, are the most important things that make a job satisfying?
6. What other things have you felt you might be suited for?
7. Have you ever seriously considered other jobs/occupations?
8. Under what conditions would you change now?
9. Does your wife work? (If wife, have you worked since marriage?)
10. How do you feel about women working?(About your wife working?)
11. What would you say was an adequate income for a family of 4?
12. What is the most important thing money can give?
13. Does your present way of life differ very much from your parents'?
14. How did they get along together?
15. In what ways were your parents most alike and in what ways were they most different?
16. Did either parent influence you more than the other?
17. Whose discipline did you fear most?
18. What were you like as a child? (Did you mix easily in gangs or were you isolated?)
19. What attracts you in a friend?
20. How important are friends in a person's life?

/continued.

F 12 continued.

21. What are the psychological differences between men and women?
 22. What sort of person do you consider yourself to be?
 23. What pleases you most about yourself?
 24. What displeases you most about yourself?.
-

F.19.

PART I

Directions: From each of the following quotations, select the word that most accurately describes the mental state of the person making the statement. Record the letter of the correct answer on the proper answer line at the right.

1. No one is able to stop me: I will do that which I intend to do or die in the attempt.
(A) Ambition. (B) Despair. (C) Determination. (D) Rage
2. Which one of them shall I take? Both? One? Or neither?
(A) Disappointment. (B) Hypocrisy. (C) Indecision
(D) Love.
3. There is something in the way he deals that makes me want to cut the cards.
(A) Hate. (B) Rage. (C) Scorn. (D) Suspicion.
4. And to think I had looked forward to this party for days!
(A) Despair. (B) Disappointment. (C) Disgust. (D) Regret.
5. In the future as in the past I shall strive to attain the highest place of fame.
(A) Ambition. (B) Determination. (C) Hypocrisy. (D) Jealousy.
6. A glance from your eyes, a touch from your hand, and the gates of paradise swing wide for me.
(A) Admiration. (B) Jealousy. (C) Loneliness. (D) Love.
7. Drink as much wine as you please but preach the benefits of water.
(A) Admiration. (B) Envy. (C) Hypocrisy. (D) Scorn.
8. You danced four times with her and then held her hand in the dark. Do you think, that is playing fair to me?
(A) Disappointment. (B) Envy. (C) Jealousy. (D) Love.
9. Every time I look at him I feel - I almost know - that he is plotting against me.
(A) Fear. (B) Hate. (C) Scorn. (D) Suspicion.
10. All, all are gone, the old familiar faces.
(A) Despair. (B) Disappointment. (C) Loneliness. (D) Regret.
11. He has a very ancient and fishlike smell.
(A) Admiration. (B) Disgust. (C) Regret. (D) Scorn.

12. The idea of asking those Baileys! They wouldn't even know a reception from a strawberry festival.
(A) Disgust. (B) Rage. (C) Regret. (D) Scorn.
13. Nay then, my last hope is gone - I can fight no longer.
(A) Despair. (B) Disappointment. (C) Disgust. (D) regret.
14. Cursed by my tribe if I forgive him!
(A) Determination. (B) Hate. (C) Rage. (D) Scorn.
15. Those horrid images doth unfix my hair,
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs.
(A) Fear. (B) Love. (C) Rage. (D) Scorn.
16. If only I had not let that opportunity slip I might now be enjoying the things I had longed for.
(A) Despair. (B) Disappointment. (C) Loneliness. (D) Regret.
17. I wish I had your opportunity. Things are always handed to you on a silver platter, but I never get a chance to do anything.
(A) Despair. (B) Envy. (C) Jealousy. (D) Regret.
18. Now could I drink blood and do such bitter business as the day would quake to look on.
(A) Determination. (B) Hate. (C) Rage. (D) Scorn.

PART II

Directions: If the statement is true, write a T on the line at the right; if it is false, write an F.

1. In pleasure the corners of the mouth are pulled down.
2. Pretense and sham are often inspired by the desire for social admiration.
3. Most people tend to imitate those whom they most admire.
4. It is easier to remember to wind an eight-day clock than one that must be wound every day.
5. All men are created equal in mental ability.
6. We are more shocked by our errors in etiquette than by those in logic.
7. In fear there is a tendency for the eyes to become more widely opened.

8. As a rule we should place little confidence in those who appear to love us extremely on slight acquaintance.
9. A person of strong character usually makes firm friends and bitter enemies.
10. For most people forbidding an act increases the pleasure of doing it.
11. A mother's estimate of her child is the most reliable one.
12. Good conduct is a reliable indication of high intelligence.
13. The salesman who makes the most sales is usually the most popular with the other salesmen.
14. One of the surest methods of bringing a man to your point of view is by engaging in argument with him.
15. With the average person there is no more pleasing sound than praise of himself.
16. In order to know the real sentiments of others one should trust more to the eye than to the ear.
17. Giving newspaper publicity to the details of crimes tends to reduce the number of similar crimes committed.
18. With most people the desire for social approval motivates conduct much more than does the consideration of principles.
19. In business successs, influential friends are often as important as hard work.
20. In social relations, demands are usually more effective than requests.
21. A good way to keep on friendly terms with two people who are enemies is to attempt to reconcile them.
22. It is advisable for a salesman to show a little annoyance to customers who are returning merchandise so they will not be apt to try it again.
23. People are pleased when the sales clerks greet them by name
24. Price is usually the most important part of sales talk.
25. L1

25. Loyalty to your organisation demands that you take every opportunity to injure its competitors.
26. We usually find fault with the person we have injured.
27. The majority of people appreciate a candid criticism of their faults.
28. The clerk usually thinks the plumber is paid too much.
29. Much of our reasoning consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do.
30. Most people would rather admit having bad judgement than bad memory.
31. In a dispute between an individual and a corporation most people favour the side of the individual.
32. The desire for play ceases with the close of adolescence.
33. There is a marked tendency among old people to say that "the world is going to the dogs".
34. Most men resent taking orders from a woman.
35. Hatred is sometimes incurred on account of good actions.
36. Passing stringent laws curbing undesirable actions of a group of people usually increases their respect for the law.
37. A friendship with a person can often be built up as well by having him do things for you as by doing things for him.
38. Frequently praising an individual in the presence of his associates tends to make him popular with them.
39. What will make one person happy can safely be assumed to make others happy.
40. We blame ourselves for the things we would excuse in others.
41. All people who become wealthy or famous must be either bright or hard-working.
42. A good way to instill efficiency in intelligent employees is to remind them every time they do a job that they are to follow a prescribed procedure.
43. People are most likely to work for some social end separately than as followers of a crowd.

44. Most people enjoy the success of their associates without envy.
45. One of the most efficient ways to succeed in the world is through a strong fidelity to friends.
46. As a general rule it is not well to apply for a favour that you have little probability of obtaining.
47. Our standards of conduct are determined largely by our reason without reference to what others think.
48. The tendency to reverie is more dominant from twenty-five to forty years of age than at any other time of life.
49. Conscience gives the same commands to everyone.
50. The patriotism exhibited by the British in the War was an example of carefully thought out judgment of the masses to stand up for the right.

- - - - -

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

(The appropriate symbols can be encircled where appropriate)

1. Initials.
2. Single, engaged, married, divorced, widowed, separated.
3. Occupation.
4. Educational level attained.
5. Country of origin.
6. Year of arrival in
 - (a) Federation.
 - (b) S.Rhodesia.
 - (c) Salisbury.
7. Political thinking : Strength : VS - S - M - W - VW
8. Religious conviction : Strength : VS - S - M - W - VW
9. Details of all group memberships (clubs, societies etc).
10. Reasons why you came to live in S/YW.
11. How has your life been most affected by coming to S/YW?
12. Do you feel that being in S/YW has provided you with :
 - i) a complete expression of your social needs.
 - ii) an adequate expression of your social needs.
 - iii) some expression, but not an adequate expression.
 - iv) no satisfactory expression of your social needs at all?or
13. (If applicable) Why did you come to Rhodesia (Salisbury)?
14. What would you say are - for you - i) the main reasons and ii) the main advantages of living in S/YW?
15. Are there any criticisms you can make of S/YW?
(If so, specify).
16. Please give the initials of three residents whom you would choose to represent YW/S at an international conference of similar bodies. (Initials only reqd here and in all similar questions).
17. In any large group there are some people who seem to fit in less well than others; whom in S/YW would you consider fit in less well? (3 initials)

17. In any large group there are some people who seem to fit in less well than others; whom in S/YW would you consider fit in less well? (3 initials)
18. Please list any 3 residents whom you find irritate or antagonise you.
19. What do you find a) the best and b) the worst things about living in Rhodesia?
20. How do your closest friends compare with yourself in terms of:
 - (a) income.
 - (b) place of residence.
 - (c) country of origin.
 - (d) length of residence in Rhodesia.
 - (e) political & racial opinions?
21. Among residents, name three whom you think have most accepted Rhodesia as a place in which to live and work.
22. Among residents, name three whom you would say have least accepted Rhodesia as a place in which to live and work.
23. Among residents, mention three whom you would say hold the most advanced ('liberal') attitudes in race affairs.
24. Among residents, mention three whom you would say hold the least advanced ('illiberal') attitudes on race affairs.
25. Do you think that in general residents tend to hold views about a) race and b) morality in common?
26. What is your main ambition in life and how do you rate your chances of achieving it?
27. Please give four short answers to the question : 'What are you? ' (No prompting allowed!)
 1. 3.
 2. 4.
28. What are your general feelings about :
 - (a) S.Rhodesia as a country?
 - (b) Europeans who inhabit it?
 - (c) Rhodesian girls/Immigrant girls?
men/Immigrant men?

29. What are the main differences between Rhodesian girls and men and immigrant girls and men?
30. How satisfied are you with :
 - i) your present economic position?
 - ii) your present social position?
31. Do you find your work : VS - S - NSA
32. How many jobs have you had in Rhodesia? Please list in order.
33. Can you recall any particular incidents or experiences which may have influenced you in any way about
 - i) Rhodesia ii) Africans, and iii) your associates in YW/S?
34. How much longer do you hope/expect to live in S/YW? in Rhodesia?
35. What seem to you the main influences on a girl coming to live in S/YW? (Is there a 'type' who often/never comes?)

F.31.

1. Place of permanent residence in last country.
2. Occupational expectation a) in one year
b) in ten years.
3. Last employment in previous country.
4. First employment in Rhodesia.
5. Reasons for leaving previous employment.
6. Unemployment record.
7. Do you find saving possible?
8. Political preference in country of origin.
9. Strenth of 1)political affiliation in S. Rhodesia
2)religious convictions.
10. Among Europeans here, what would you say are the different classes?
11. What kind of people in each?
12. What do you think of them?
13. To which class do you feel you belong?
14. What can be done to reduce conflict of aims?
15. Reasons for leaving previous country.
16. Main difficulties/obstacles to leaving.
17. When did you first think of immigrating?
18. How long afterdid you decideplace would be Rhodesia?
19. Reasons for selecting Rhodesia.
20. Friends/relatives here prior to leaving.
21. Previous overseas experience.
22. Forces overseas experience.
23. How much known about this country before arriving here?
24. When you came a) how long did you expect to remain?
b) how long do you expect to remain now?

25. What changes have taken place in a) way of life, b) prospects c) health, d) leisure interests/activities, e) social position?
26. Has Rhodesia disappointed you in any way?
27. What have you missed most (if anything)?
28. Did you/do you still experience any difficulties in settling down?
29. Was there anything special that made things easier?
30. Pattern of group membership since arriving, up to the present.
31. Would you say any of these made things easier for you when you first came?
32. Have you made any close friends in Rhodesia.
33. If so, how do they, in general compare with yourself in terms of a) country of origin, b) leisure interests, c) income, d) length of residence in country.
34. Do you keep in touch with (many) relatives/friends in original country?
35. How do you feel towards born Rhodesians, e.g. do you detect any significant difference between most of them and yourself?
36. What do you believe is the attitude of the average born Rhodesian to yourself?
37. Whom do you think are, on the whole, better able to cope with the country's problems, born Rhodesians, pre-war immigrants, post-war immigrants?
38. In a sporting contest between a team from your native country and a team from Rhodesia, whom, in the heat of the moment, do you think you would support?
39. Do you feel insulted when Rhodesia is insulted and pleased when Rhodesia is praised?
40. Do you feel completely at home in Rhodesia?
41. If you had a son, what would you most like him to become?
42. Where would you hope to give him his higher education?
43. Would you hope that it would be possible, and that he would want to permanently settle here?

44. Do the feelings of your husband/wife towards this country differ from your own?
 45. Do you discover any important differences on the part of your children as compared with yourself concerning
a) the country, b) Africans, c) interests, d) ambition?
 46. Personal health record in Rhodesia.
 47. Health record of family.
 48. Do you find you need more,/less or same amount of sleep since coming here?
 49. - Ditto - for family?
 50. Would you say you are more, less, or equally nervous?
 51. Would you describe your childhood as relatively happy, relatively unhappy, or neither one thing nor the other.
 52. Have there been any crisis in your life since arriving, connected with being here, or any crisis of longer standing, that has been affected by coming?
-

The following is a list of thirty statements of fact about certain manifestations of the racial situation in S. Rhodesia. They are part of a longer series of statements prepared by other research workers, and they have already been answered by a large selection of Europeans already living in Southern Rhodesia.

Our purpose in asking you to give us your frank attitude towards these practices, is an attempt to discover what are the attitudes of prospective immigrants to such problems before they arrive in Rhodesia, and how, if at all, these attitudes may change.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS.

After each statement in the Questionnaire, you are requested to record how important you consider the practice to be, and whether you think it should be maintained or discontinued (by changing the law or social custom). Endorse the statements with an X in the following manner on the answer sheet :-

If you believe that the practice is VERY IMPORTANT
and should be MAINTAINED:

(VM)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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If you believe that the practice is IMPORTANT
and probably should be MAINTAINED:

(IM)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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If you believe that the practice is IMPORTANT
and probably should be DISCONTINUED:

(ID)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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If you believe that the practice is VERY IMPORTANT
and should be DISCONTINUED:

(VD)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Please answer frankly. Remember that this is not a test; there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. The answer required is your own personal opinion. Be sure not to omit any questions, and do not consult another person while you are giving your answers.

To repeat, your responses will be treated as completely confidential.

1. Africans are refused admission to European dance halls.
2. If a European woman becomes 'familiar' with an African man she is almost certain to be ostracized socially.
3. Africans are permitted to own or carry firearms only in very exceptional circumstances, while Europeans may do so with relatively fewer restrictions.
4. African organisations cannot rent offices legally in European commercial areas.
5. In some shops and cafes there is a little window through

9. No provision is made for Africans to serve on juries in Southern Rhodesia.
10. Europeans and Africans generally are not permitted to use the same lavatories.
11. European men and women have on occasion dropped friends when they have discovered them to have non-European ancestors.
12. European sporting and social clubs are not open to Africans.
13. Africans and Europeans are sometimes not punished equally by the court for the same crimes of violence.
14. Africans normally are expected to stand back and allow Europeans to go first through doorways, into lifts, and so on.
15. Europeans who rape African women sometimes are given lighter sentences than Africans who rape European women.
16. Many European restaurants and hotels will not accept African clients.
17. A European man who is suspected of having sex relations with an African woman is likely to be ostracised socially.
18. Africans nearly always are expected to address Europeans as 'Sir', 'Boss', 'Master', or 'Madam', whereas Europeans usually address Africans as 'Boy' or 'Nanny'.
19. Most churches do not hold services for multi-racial congregations.
20. Africans are not hired often as counter attendants in European shops or businesses.
21. African householders living in urban areas have no vote in municipal elections.
22. In general, Africans are now placed in charge of Europeans even when equally qualified.
23. African locations are equipped less frequently than European townships with amenities such as tinned roads and

25. African men have to take more care not to become 'familiar' with European women than do European men with African women.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

26. Africans who question the authority of Europeans often are accused of being 'cheeky' and may be assaulted for such behaviour.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

27. Africans in urban areas are not permitted to own land outright, but have up to a 99 year lease, and this only in certain areas.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

28. Facilities for the training of Africans in the skilled trades and professions are very limited.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

29. From time to time, African voters are refused admission to political meetings open to the general public.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

30. In general, Africans but not Europeans, are forbidden by law to buy alcoholic spirits.

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

VM IM IDVD

INTERVIEW DIRECTIONS(Something said (not read) along these lines)

Well, I may as well say a few words about these questions. I am helping with a research project, and we are interested as to what factors contribute to how pleased or disappointed, immigrants are with Rhodesia. I assure you, all the information you have so kindly offered to give us, will be in complete confidence.

1. Perhaps you wouldn't mind starting with this questionnaire. It is rather long, in fact, there are about 500 questions to answer! It has been written in America, and you'll find some odd expressions, such as "Cutting-up", "Hooky" (both mean 'playing truant'), and "Sidewalk" (pavement). If you are in any doubt about any such words, please ask me.

2. Thanks. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions, if I may. They are personal, and if you would prefer to leave any, please don't hesitate to say. Your views, on these matters will, however, be extremely helpful to our study, in revealing how immigrants feel before they travel. Again, it is quite confidential.

3. Now this questionnaire is very short, for a change! It serves merely to help us to understand what you think the country is like, before you actually see it! It'll only take five minutes - you must be fed up with aswering by now!

Well, that's about all! thank you so much for helping, we are most grateful. Would you like to make any comments at all, by the way? Do you think these questions will help to solve the problems? Have you any ideas on what makes people disappointed with a new land - or do you think it's more likely to be the people themselves? D'you think some people are likely to make better immigrants than others?

If you ever want any help or advice when you are out there, do contact Mr. McEwan: he'll be only too glad to help. Should I give you his address?

Mr. P.J.M. McEwan,
'Mayfield'
Kent Road,
P.O. Highlands,
Salisbury,
S. RHODESIA.

Tel. No. 45209

(Until July 15th)

INTERVIEW NO.Held at _____

1. NAME -
2. SEX -
3. AGE -
4. MARITAL STATUS -
5. ADDRESS IN ENGLAND -
6. CONTACT ADDRESS IN RHODESIA -

INTERVIEW PROPER:

1. Position in Family?
2. Place of birth?
3. Ethnic attachment?
4. Occupation?

His wife?
Plans for Rhodesia?

Long-term plans?

5. Annual gross family income?
6. Religion?
7. Politics?
8. Highest educational level attained?
9. Present social class?
10. Group membership?
11. Material possessions?
12. Reasons for leaving England?
13. Reasons for choice of Rhodesia?
14. Previous overseas experience?

15. Source of information?
16. When did you first consider going abroad?
17. Contacts in Rhodesia?
18. Help from Rhodesia House?
19. Expectations related to:
 - Climate?
 - C. of L.
 - S. of L.
 - Leisure
 - Europeans
 - Africans
 - Race relations
20. Anticipation of changes in way of life?
21. Main obstacle in leaving U.K.?
22. Greatest expected loss?

23. General attitude towards negroes?

Wife?
Brother?

24. Childhood?

25. Preparation for return?

26. Any advice?

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALSome Notes on Interviewing Case Studies.

1. The General Question Schedule (F.12) should be regarded as providing a general orientation for the interviewer. It lists the questions we would most like answered, and the answers will suggest lines that should be followed up. There are three broad areas we are concerned with, Vocational (Qs.1-10), Income (Qs.11 and 12), and Clinical Material (Qs. 13-20).

The aim should always be to ask questions which give insights regarding hypotheses which are never explicitly stated or, if possible, hinted at, during the interview. Precise questions and the personal technique employed will vary according to the subject's personality, defences, surface attitudes, etc.

2. The interview should be closely related to all available material already in our possession regarding the subject. Very often a perusal of previously acquired information and impression will yield unexpected leads when reflected on a second time.

3. With regard to the Vocational material, we want to find for example, how far identification with, or rebellion against, the parents determined the choice of work; whether there is, for the subject, a difference (as there invariably is if we dig deep enough) between 'real achievement' and conventionalised expressions of 'success' and/or financial gain; what the subject most looks for in his working life should offer a strong lead; in group feeling (e.g. whether S. prefers being a leader, an isolated individual or a member of a unit/group); attitudes re wife working and other wives working (may suggest ambiguity that will require further probing). One example of the importance of associating previously gathered material with subsequent meeting(s) is appropriate here viz: if the subject has friends with whom he shares a community of working interest, this may suggest that working relationships are especially important for him/her and should therefore be investigated - if, on the other hand, S. appears to have no working friendships this again needs exploration, but in a different way. Also the interviewer should leave the S. having gained a good notion of his/her friendship 'tones' (i.e. the quality of friendships).

4. The purpose here will be to explore the extent of 'money-mindedness', the aspirations and fantasies centered around LSD. E.g. is money important per se, or for what it can materially give, or give in other ways? Or relevance here also is the emphasis on status as mercissistic enhancement of one's own person, own power, own security - all of which can be realistic OR exaggerated. NB. The attitude towards charity should be explored (e.g. the Governor's Fund and Belgian Refugee Fund, the former for Africans and the latter for Europeans) as this is a possible atonement which is known to be a reaction to aggressive impulses. Another important factor is realism versus

autism with respect to thinking and to goal behaviour in this field. A considerable discrepancy between fantasies and reality in the attitude towards economic goals, combined with lack of a structured path and lack of readiness to work and to postpone pleasure, might make one susceptible to the use of socially destructive behaviour, as a means of attaining, by a short cut, fulfilment of one's infantile dreams and gratifications. One further very important consideration (others will occur to the interviewer) is the set of questions dealing with changes in economic level. Sudden change, eg, either upward or downward, might well lead to a lack of adaptation in the whole socio-economic sphere so that it becomes an outlet for 'acting out' difficulties of a more general kind.

5. With regard to Clinical material, especially childhood, it is important to endeavour to ascertain whether there was any positive identification with either parent; how the roles of masculinity and femininity are seen by the S.; the power-relationships between the parents, the domination of the parental family by the father or by the mother, and their relative dominance in specific areas of domestic life, all these are extremely important. It should also be noted whether the subject speaks of his/her parents in general terms of love or eg. apparently objective criticism. Wherever it may seem relevant it will be important to determine whether there was any sibling rivalry and if so, what part was played by the S. (this may greatly influence interpersonal relationships in adult life).

6. Turning to the TAT, while no kind of prompting is permissible, this does not exclude encouragement, and, if necessary, a request for elaboration of outcome, present situation, etc., if item to a story already given, this should be encouraged. If there seems to be a barrier preventing any response so that silence ensues for longer than about three minutes the S. may be asked to say whatever occurs to him. In cases where, either through external interference (eg. the presence of another person) or through internal censorship, the subject appears in difficulties about speaking his mind, he should be invited to write rather than talk. The suggestion can be made and left to him/her to decide. If this is accepted, the time should be recorded between presentation of picture and start of writing and any long pauses in the usual way.

7. With the Projective Questions (F.6) no extemporising on the part of the interviewer is required. The questions are asked and subsidiary questions are only put if the need for them (eg. to clarify the intended meaning of a response) is obvious. If any question is answered only very briefly it is legitimate to ask 'is that all?' or something equivalent. The whole series should be introduced by saying to the S. -

"the following questions are intended to give you a change to express your ideas and opinions in your own way; please answer them all as fully as possible."

The idea behind this type of questionnaire is that since the many psychologically important aspects of the situation are held constant for all subjects, as well as the problem-material itself, individual differences may be attributed to characteristics in the subject, and the materials have been so selected that the main difference producing variables are likely to be personality trends of considerable significance in the individual's psychological functioning.

8. One final point that I think may be of considerable importance, both to absorption and to racial thinking, is the history of sociability and social security of the subject. How far, for example, was he/she accepted or rejected by groups in which, in the past, he has participated? Under what conditions does the fact of being rejected lead to identification with, or to hostility toward, the underdog? (Participation in boyhood gangs or girlish 'circles' for example). What, on the other hand, are the effects of being relatively isolated during the formative years of early school life? I think a further exploration of this aspect of childhood should generally be introduced as a subsidiary to Questions 19 and/or 20 in F.12. Finally, if a subsidiary question along the lines 'what would you say are the main psychological differences between men and women' can be introduced, wherever the rapport justifies it, I think further valuable insight would certainly be gained.

SUBJECTIVE REPORT NO.

1. PROCEDURE

2. GENERAL PICTURE

3. ATTITUDE TOWARDS INTERVIEW

4. GENERAL ADJUSTMENT TO ENGLAND

5. ANTICIPATED ADJUSTMENT TO RHODESIA

NOTE SUPPLIED WITH F.1.SOCIAL RESEARCH (EUROPEAN).

I would like to explain something more of the work we are doing, partly because so many people have asked to hear more about it, and partly because I believe one of the obligations of the social worker should be to return the co-operation, upon which the success of his work depends, with information about the problems which face him and which he seeks to understand and perhaps to solve.

Rhodesia is a young, virile country and most people will agree, I think, that, on the European side, its future hinges upon two fundamental issues. These are the success of its immigration policy, the economic and social satisfactions that present and future residents - originally from other places - will continue to find here; and the predominating attitudes and patterns of social behaviour that will be evinced by the rising generation of young Rhodesians.

We want to find out what sort of people have been, and continue to be, attracted to Rhodesia, and their motives for coming here, how these may be connected with the respected part and those which hinder, their personal contentment and social value. We also hope to study the patterns of family life, the extent to which people are prompted to keep in step with their neighbours and the effects on society of their doing so, the processes of change that new Rhodesians undergo, and so forth. In short, we shall be concerning ourselves with the interactions between individuals and society and the consequent changes - for better and for worse - in both.

These, and many other related problems, have been the subject of prolonged, intensive research in every other country in the world (e.g. Australia, United States, Israel) which has depended on immigration for its prosperity. Yet in Rhodesia nothing along these lines has ever before been attempted.

Research of this kind inevitably requires information of a personal nature and, whatever the assurances of anonymity and privacy that are given, it is likely to arouse occasional suspicion and even hostility. Unlike the physicist and the chemist, whose material responds in ways that can be predicted, the social worker has to depend on the co-operation of the public, some of whom may deny him this help. Generally speaking, we find that there are three reasons why the few, who refuse to co-operate with us do so. These are (i) suspicion, (ii) the view that the work is unnecessary because everyone knows the answers already, and (iii) the view that one has been in Rhodesia either too long or not long enough to give a reliable opinion.

With regard to the naturally suspicious, I can only

give my repeated assurance that all material containing personal data, such as the questionnaire we are now distributing, is treated in strictest confidence according to the honoured principles of scientific practice. As soon as the information has been transferred in code onto anonymous, machine-operated punched cards, the forms themselves are destroyed.

To those of you who consider the work unnecessary, and the answers obvious, we are often given exactly opposite reasons for holding this view! For example, some people have objected that there are no class differences in Rhodesia and that the questions about this in the questionnaire are therefore meaningless. Other people have told us that social class is at the base of all our ills and that in the absence of many more questions about this, the questionnaire is virtually without value. In addition, I would point to the alarming decline in the immigration rates recently, and the apparently growing dis-satisfaction among many of those who remain. I cannot believe that these tendencies, which constitute part of our study, would be regarded by anybody as unimportant.

To those who have lived here for a very long time, and to those who have recently arrived, I particularly appeal for your response since your views are among the most valuable we can obtain.

Finally, with regard especially to the questionnaire, I would like to correct a false impression that some people have formed regarding the use to which it will be put. We are not investigating loves or hates, nor are we concerned specifically with race relations. No complex statistical data will be extracted, the questions will not be used to formulate any theory of Rhodesian attitudes. They are intended for more general use; the answers will be treated as signposts rather than as destinations.

I hope this will help to give you some, necessarily brief, idea of what we are trying to achieve. To all of you who co-operate in this work may I take this chance to offer you our sincere thanks. Your courteous and generous response makes our work not only possible, but worthwhile. In return we shall endeavour to keep you acquainted with our findings and to invite your informed criticism.

Thank you!

24th August 1959

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APPENDIX VII

Selection of items for satisfaction scale.

Index of Reproduc- ibility.	Ques- tion.	Rank order of Index.	'A' Score	'A' Rank	'B' Score (shorten- ed formula)	'B' Rank	Mean Rank order of A and B Scores.
1.84	1	7	26.42	1	26.28	1	1
0.98	2	20	4.66	20	4.43	20	20
1.57	3	12	12.13	12	11.73	12	12
2.44	4	2	23.80	4	22.85	4	4
2.26	5	4	21.31	5	21.36	5	5
2.42	6	3	23.94	3	23.96	3	3
1.47	7	14	11.12	14	11.05	14	14
1.32	8	16	7.59	17	7.54	18	18
2.19	9	6	16.93	6	16.89	6	6
1.69	10	10	14.45	9	14.82	8	8
1.25	11	17	8.74	16	8.92	16	16
1.45	12	15	9.43	15	9.49	15	15
1.88	13	8	14.62	8	14.55	9	9
1.58	14	11	15.06	7	15.80	7	7
1.03	15	19	7.12	18	7.78	17	17
2.21	16	5	14.16	10	14.03	10	10
1.79	17	9	12.24	11	12.78	11	11
1.12	18	18	4.85	19	4.85	19	19
2.48	19	1	24.78	2	25.73	2	2
1.48	20	13	11.25	13	11.22	13	13

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APPENDIX IV

Correlation Matrix (Spearman's) of Selected Population Characteristics of the Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana, 1960¹

VARIABLES	Population Density 1948	Population Density 1960	Population Increase 1948-1960	Population in Places 5,000+	Population in Places 10,000+	Population Born Locally	Population born in another Locality	Ethnic Homogeneity	School attendance, past and present	Labour Force in Agriculture	Labour Force in Cocoa Production	Labour Force in Manufacturing	Labour Force in Commerce	Labour Force in Services	Population Christian	Population Moslem	Population in Traditional Religion	Fertility of Women	Male ratio per 1,000 females (Total Population)	Male ratio per 1,000 females (aged 20-59 years)	Per cent. of population aged 20-59 years	Density of Rural Population, 1960
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1 Population Density 1948	1.000																					
2 Population Density 1960	0.987	1.000																				
3 Population Increase 1948-1960	-0.495	-0.437	1.000																			
4 Population in Places 5,000+	0.002	0.055	0.297	1.000																		
5 Population in Places 10,000+	-0.182	-0.152	0.522	0.780	1.000																	
6 Population Born Locally	0.429	0.389	-0.890	-0.130	-0.231	1.000																
7 Population Born in another Locality	-0.181	-0.152	0.684	0.648	0.596	-0.684	1.000															
8 Ethnic Homogeneity	0.512	0.525	-0.574	-0.073	-0.371	0.415	-0.424	1.000														
9 School attendance, past and present	0.147	0.130	0.319	0.024	0.086	-0.398	0.429	-0.007	1.000													
10 Labour Force in Agriculture	0.127	0.064	-0.727	-0.569	-0.785	0.499	-0.767	0.538	-0.341	1.000												
11 Labour Force in Cocoa Production	-0.789	-0.763	0.798	0.275	0.481	-0.666	0.411	-0.516	0.073	-0.477	1.000											
12 Labour Force in Manufacturing	-0.134	-0.081	0.670	0.657	0.731	-0.464	0.662	-0.218	0.420	-0.758	0.525	1.000										
13 Labour Force in Commerce	0.143	0.182	0.442	0.393	0.560	-0.301	0.490	-0.433	-0.174	-0.657	0.147	0.266	1.000									
14 Labour Force in Services	0.253	0.222	0.042	0.073	0.099	-0.042	0.020	0.011	0.604	-0.143	-0.015	0.240	-0.262	1.000								
15 Population Christian	0.163	0.169	0.288	0.231	0.226	0.257	0.332	0.073	0.781	-0.437	0.204	0.666	-0.143	0.543	1.000							
16 Population Moslem	-0.279	-0.248	0.512	0.763	0.877	-0.332	0.587	-0.200	-0.081	-0.578	0.504	0.516	0.534	-0.095	-0.020	1.000						
17 Population in Traditional Religion	0.002	-0.024	-0.371	-0.767	-0.763	0.257	-0.644	-0.051	-0.160	0.574	-0.275	-0.692	-0.398	0.108	-0.367	-0.802	1.000					
18 Fertility of Women	-0.657	-0.604	0.653	0.051	0.284	-0.644	0.464	-0.301	-0.015	-0.358	0.565	0.323	0.253	-0.521	-0.051	0.429	-0.402	1.000				
19 Male ratio per 1,000 females (Total Population)	-0.429	-0.451	0.393	0.565	0.732	-0.244	0.446	-0.464	-0.240	-0.459	0.534	0.332	0.424	0.024	-0.196	0.815	-0.503	0.279	1.000			
20 Male ratio per 1,000 females (aged 20-59 years)	-0.424	-0.424	0.662	0.530	0.745	-0.508	0.596	-0.591	-0.042	-0.631	0.666	0.420	0.569	0.077	0.112	0.793	-0.420	0.323	0.899	1.000		
21 Per cent. of population aged 20-59 years	0.525	0.499	-0.446	0.002	-0.191	0.442	-0.213	-0.042	-0.086	0.103	-0.468	-0.371	0.064	0.407	-0.174	-0.310	0.455	-0.851	-0.073	-0.033	1.000	
22 Density of Rural Population, 1960	0.591	0.596	-0.785	-0.380	-0.591	0.710	-0.547	0.429	-0.231	0.495	-0.873	-0.508	-0.257	-0.156	-0.160	-0.679	0.393	-0.459	-0.684	-0.842	0.349	1.000

¹ Source: Based on data derived from Census, 1960, Vols. I, II, III and VI (Tables 4-5, pp. 24-65); Vols. 'A' to 'E'; and computed by author.

Correlation Coefficients of ± 0.456 and ± 0.645 are significant at 95 and 99 per cent. levels respectively

APPENDIX III

Correlation (Spearman's) Matrix of Selected Population Characteristics, Ghana, 1960¹

VARIABLES	Population Density 1948	Population Density 1960	Population Increase 1948-1960	Population in places with 5,000+	Population in places with 10,000+	Population born locally	Population born in another locality	Population born in another Region	Population born abroad	Ethnic homogeneity	School attendance, past, and present	Labour force in agriculture	Labour force in cocoa production	Labour force in manufacturing, etc.	Labour force in commerce	Labour force in services	Population Christian	Population Moslem	Population in Traditional Religion	Fertility of Women	Male ratio per 1,000 females	Rural Population Density
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1 Population density 1948	1.000																					
2 Population density 1960	0.941	1.000																				
3 Population increase 1948-1960	-0.110	0.129	1.000																			
4 Population in places with 5,000+	0.590	0.715	0.402	1.000																		
5 Population in places with 10,000+	0.433	0.541	0.443	0.778	1.000																	
6 Population born locally	-0.036	-0.151	-0.472	-0.276	-0.381	1.000																
7 Population born in another Locality	-0.110	-0.120	-0.181	-0.073	-0.061	-0.346	1.000															
8 Population born in another Region	0.118	0.258	0.613	0.429	0.542	-0.783	-0.158	1.000														
9 Population born abroad	0.202	0.283	0.697	0.516	0.562	-0.781	-0.022	0.506	1.000													
10 Ethnic Homogeneity	0.011	-0.078	-0.322	-0.260	-0.307	0.668	-0.165	-0.608	-0.453	1.000												
11 School attendance, past, and present	0.482	0.582	0.420	0.605	0.651	-0.467	0.061	0.608	0.607	-0.301	1.000											
12 Labour in agriculture	-0.701	-0.788	-0.301	-0.775	-0.704	0.443	-0.077	-0.536	-0.529	0.265	-0.723	1.000										
13 Labour force in cocoa production	-0.181	-0.109	0.368	0.030	0.144	-0.298	0.057	0.439	0.247	-0.073	0.369	-0.044	1.000									
14 Labour force in manufacturing	0.565	0.687	0.396	0.753	0.775	-0.451	-0.199	0.613	0.423	-0.337	0.792	-0.914	0.200	1.000								
15 Labour force in commerce	0.736	0.792	0.190	0.721	0.576	-0.327	-0.107	0.395	0.325	-0.182	0.619	-0.946	-0.027	0.773	1.000							
16 Labour force in services	0.516	0.599	0.411	0.745	0.687	-0.407	-0.044	0.554	0.596	-0.345	0.786	-0.775	0.084	0.773	0.609	1.000						
17 Population Christian	0.365	0.424	0.386	0.528	0.538	-0.318	0.022	0.471	0.456	-0.170	0.732	-0.567	0.541	0.634	0.493	0.573	1.000					
18 Population Moslem	-0.151	-0.098	0.363	0.205	0.150	-0.268	-0.036	0.315	0.397	-0.309	-0.112	0.015	0.100	0.026	-0.058	-0.008	-0.014	1.000				
19 Population in traditional religion	-0.425	-0.497	-0.415	-0.589	-0.544	0.362	-0.069	-0.539	-0.538	0.229	-0.650	0.586	-0.488	-0.639	-0.538	-0.549	-0.874	-0.291	1.000			
20 Fertility of women	-0.362	-0.329	0.257	-0.234	-0.185	-0.096	-0.092	0.186	0.049	0.140	-0.061	0.243	0.691	-0.197	-0.227	-0.396	-0.040	0.228	-0.093	1.000		
21 Male Ratio per 1,000 females	-0.300	-0.158	0.580	0.328	0.465	-0.784	-0.040	0.734	0.751	-0.614	0.060	-0.362	0.524	0.053	-0.204	0.237	0.238	0.494	-0.320	0.108	1.000	
22 Rural population density	0.072	-0.003	-0.405	-0.336	-0.484	0.447	-0.087	-0.448	-0.453	0.392	-0.224	0.213	0.169	-0.250	-0.109	-0.358	-0.140	-0.343	0.202	0.261	-0.514	1.000

¹ Source: based on data derived from Census, 1960, Vols. II, III; IV (Tables 4-5, pp. 24-65); Vols. 'A' to 'E'; and computed by author.

² Correlation Coefficients of ± 0.240 and ± 0.326 are significant at 95 and 99 per cent. levels respectively.

APPENDIX II

***A

JOB

GEG/006/0027 E.V.T. ENGMANN: FOREIGN POPLN PYRAMIDS, GHANA, 1960

OUTPUT

O LINE PRINTER 5000 LINES

EXECUTION 6 MINUTES

COMPILER AA

%BEGIN

%INTEGER I,J,L,K,P,Q

%REALARRAY MALES(1:20), FEMALES(1:20), RES(1:14)

%REAL M,F,MEN,WOMEN,SUM,MALERES,FEMRES

70:%CYCLE I=1,1,14

READ(RES(I));%REPEAT

80:MALERES=0

%CYCLE I=1,1,7

MALERES=MALERES+(RES(I));%REPEAT

FEMRES=0

%CYCLE I=8,1,14

FEMRES=FEMRES+RES(I);%REPEAT

90:%CYCLE I=1,1,7

RES(I)=((RES(I))*100)/MALERES

%REPEAT

%CYCLE I=8,1,14

RES(I)=((RES(I))*100)/FEMRES;%REPEAT

%CYCLE K=1,1,70

I:SUM=0

%CYCLE I=1,1,14

READ(MALES(I)); SUM=SUM+MALES(I);%REPEAT

3:%CYCLE I=1,1,14

READ(FEMALES(I)); SUM=SUM+FEMALES(I);%REPEAT

4:%CYCLE I=1,1,14

MALES(I)=(MALES(I)/SUM)*100;%REPEAT

5:%CYCLE I=1,1,14

FEMALES(I)=(FEMALES(I)/SUM)*100;%REPEAT

6:M=MALES(14)

%CYCLE I=1,1,7

MALES(13+I)=((RES(I))*M)/100

%REPEAT

F=FEMALES(14)

%CYCLE I=1,1,7

FEMALES(13+I)=((RES(7+I))*F)/100

%REPEAT

NEWPAGE

NEWLINES(5)

SPACES(39)

%CAPTION AGE/SEX, STRUCTURE, BY, QUINQUENNIAL, COHORTS

NEWLINE; SPACES(44)

%CAPTION (AGES, 0-4, 5-9, ---, 95-99+), 1960

NEWLINE

%IF K=1 %THEN ->110

%IF K=2 %THEN ->112

%IF K=3 %THEN ->114

%IF K=4 %THEN ->116

%IF K=5 %THEN ->118

110:SPACES(45); %CAPTION TOTAL, FOREIGN, POPULATION, 1960

->250

112:SPACES(38); %CAPTION FOREIGN, POPULATION(RURAL), BORN IN, GHANA, 1960

->250

114:SPACES(38); %CAPTION FOREIGN, POPULATION(RURAL), BORN ABROAD, 1960

->250

116:SPACES(38); %CAPTION FOREIGN, POPULATION(URBAN), BORN IN, GHANA, 1960

->250

118:SPACES(38); %CAPTION FOREIGN, POPULATION(URBAN), BORN ABROAD, 1960

->250

```
270: MEN=0;WOMEN=0
%CYCLE I=1,1,20
MEN=MEN+MALES(I)
WOMEN=WOMEN+FEMALES(I)
%REPEAT
```

[illegible]